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WEAPONS IN THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA

By
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The *Nāṭyaśāstra* ascribed to Bharata is a unique work of its kind in Indian literature in general and Sanskrit literature in particular. It deals with all the arts and crafts connected with the dramatic art. The author of the *NS* says :

न तज्ज्ञानं न तच्छिल्पं न सा विद्या न सा कला ।
नासौ योगो न तत्कर्म नाट्येऽस्मिन् यन्न दृश्यते ॥

i.e. there is no knowledge, no craft, no lore, no art, no technique and no activity that is not seen in the *Nāṭya*. The *Nāṭya* being a representation of human life as a whole and the world surrounding it, the *NS* attempting to describe all these things becomes naturally a great source of social and cultural life. Amongst the various things that *Nāṭya* is supposed to represent, there is mention of fight and killing of persons. The author of the *NS* says that those who are engaged in a fight or an angry conflict use different kinds of weapons.[1] When these scenes or actions are represented on the stage, weapons and armours also have to be shown. So the *NS* prescribes rules for the use of weapons and armours.

We come across the names of weapons in the *NS* mainly in *Adhyāya*s 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 21 and 27. The third *Adhyāya* which prescribes stage ceremonials, refers to the weapons of Viṣṇu and Indra. The ninth *Adhyāya* which deals with the gestures of hands describes the various weapons to be represented by *Śikhara* hand. These weapons are : *Aṅkuśa*, *Dhanuṣ*, *Cāpa*, *Cakra*, *Tomara*, *Asi*,

1 *NS*. 21. 164

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Kunta, Gadā, Śakti and *Vajra*. In the tenth *Adhyāya*, the four *Karaṇas* relating to the bow are mentioned. In this *Adhyāya*, ways of discharging missiles are also mentioned. These four ways are: *Bhārata, Sāttvata, Vārṣagaṇya* and *Kaiśika*. In the thirteenth *Adhyāya*, instructions are given how to represent objects like *Carma, Varma*, weapons and *Dhvaja* in accordance with the dramatic convention i.e. *Nāṭyadharmī*. In the twenty first *Adhyāya* measurements of different weapons are prescribed. The weapons referred to in this *Adhyāya* are: *Bhiṇḍi, Kunta, Śataghnī, Śūla, Tomara, Śakti, Dhanuṣ, Śara, Gadā, Vajra, Asi, Cakra, Prāsa, Paṭṭasa* and *Kaṇaya*. The twenty-seventh *Adhyāya* describes faults of wrongly holding or using weapons and armours.

The various weapons referred to in the different *Adhyāyas* are thus alphabetically arranged : *Aṅkuśa, Asi, Bhiṇḍi, Cakra, Cāpa, Dhanuṣ, Gadā, Kaṇaya, Khaḍga, Kunta, Paṭṭasa, Prāsa, Śakti, Śara, Śataghnī, Śūla, Tomara, Vajra* and *Yaṣṭi*. Let us try to identify and describe these weapons.

1. *Aṅkuśa* : This means goad or the hook. In the *Vedic Index* it is referred to as a divine weapon.[2] In Hindu iconography, this is the weapon of Gaṇapati. It has a sharp metal hook attached to a wooden handle.[3] This is represented in the sculptures of Bharhūt and Sāñchī.[4]

2. *Asi*: This means a sword. According to the *NS* it should measure forty *Aṅgulas*.[5] In the *Vedic Index* it is thus identified: "*Asi* usually denotes the sacrificial knife, but occasionally appears to mean a knife used in war."[6] Different varieties of swords are mentioned in Epics and *Purāṇas*. Certain regions of India appear to have enjoyed special reputation for excellent sword-fabrication. In the *Virāṭaparva* there is a eulogistic reference to swords manufactured in the country of *Niṣādhas*. In the *Sabhāparva*, the Aparānta country is declared to be one of the best centres for the manufacture of swords and other steel weapons.[7]

In ancient India, a sword was considered an important weapon for the achievement of wealth, power, victory and fame.

This is represented in the sculptures at Bharhūt and Sāñchī. On some of the Gupta coins the king's sword is shown as hanging from a waist belt.[8]

3. *Bhiṇḍi* : There is much controversy about the identification of this weapon. Generally it is identified as one kind of spear. In the *NS* it is classed

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2 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 61.

3 Rao, Gopinath : *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I p. 8.

4 Maisy, *Sāñchī and its remains*, Pl. VI. fig. I, Pl. XVI, XX, XXVII; Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhūt*, Ch. IV, pp. 339-340.

5 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 47.

6 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 47.

7 Chakravarti, P. C. : *Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 163.

8 *Ibid*, p. 165.

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with *Kunta*, *Śataghnī*, *Śūla*, *Tomara* and *Śakti*. According to the *NS* it should measure twelve *Tālas*.[9] It appears to be a short form of *Bhindipāla* or *Bhiṇḍipāla* or *Bhiṇḍivāla*. According to Kauṭilya this was a weapon with edges like a ploughshare (*Halamukhaṇi*).[10] Gustav Oppert identifies this weapon thus: "The *bhiṇḍivāla* or *bhiṇḍipāla* (crooked club) has a crooked body; its head, which is bent and broad, is one cubit long and it is one hand in circumference. It is first whirled thrice and then thrown against the foot of the enemy. When throwing the *bhiṇḍivāla*, the left foot should be placed in front."[11] Shri G. T. Date considers this weapon as a 'heavy rod' and says, "from the accounts it seems that this instrument was a heavy rod thrown against an enemy like a missile. Its special work was battering, cutting, breaking, dealing strokes like those of the *laguḍa*. It appears that it was used also in pulling down fortifications."[12] Dr. P. C. Chakravarti considers this weapon in the generic class of spears and says 'Though it is often mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, its nature is left undefined.'[13] Shri V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, on the authority of the *Nītiprakāśikā* of Vaiśaṁpāyana, considers this weapon as 'a heavy club which had a broad and bent tail end, measuring one cubit in length.'[14] Hopkins says that it was a missile, flung by hand. It is usually associated with darts, hammers, clubs, etc.[15]

4. *Cakra*: This is a disc. It is a favourite weapon of Lord Viṣṇu in Hindu mythology. According to the *NS* it should measure twelve *Aṅgulas*.[16] In the *Ṛgveda*, it is repeatedly referred to in the sense of a wheel of a chariot or wagon.[17] It is also referred to as one of the weapons of Indra.[18] In the *Ādiparva* of *Mahābhārata*, it is described as a revolving weapon (*Paribhramantam*), made of iron or steel and sharp-edged (*Tīkṣṇa-dhāraṁ*).[19] In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya it is described as a movable machine (*Cala yantra*).[20]

Gustav Oppert, on the authority of the *Nītiprakāśikā* of Vaiśaṁpāyana, identifies this weapon thus: The *Cakra* (discus) has the form of a circular disk with a quadrangular hole in its midst. Its colour is like that of indigo water and its circumference amounts to two spans or 10 cubits according to the

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9 *NS*. 21. 166.
10 *Arthaśāstra*, Eng. Trans, by R. Shamsastry, p. 111.
11 *Weapons, army organization and political maxims*, p. 13.
12 *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 22.
13 *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 167.
14 *War in Ancient India*, p. 106.
15 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, p. 290.
16 *NS* 21. 168.
17 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 252.
18 *RV*, VIII, 96. 9.
19 *Art of War in Anc. India*, p. 171.
20 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 110.

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Śukranīti."[21] According to Shri G. T. Date, "It had diagonal bars in the middle and pointed projections on the periphery. Its common name is *Cakra* but a commentator on Amara calls it *Prāsa*. Kauṭilya and Śukra regard it as a razor-like weapon and according to the former, it is six cubits in circumference. Vaiśaṁpāyana's idea of it is somewhat different. It is, according to him, a sort of circular disc with a quadrangular hole in the middle."[22] Shri V. R. Dikshitar, on the authority of the *Auśānasa Dhanurveda* enumerates three kinds of *Cakra* and says, "The *Cakra* is a circular disc with a small opening in the middle. It was of three kinds of eight, six and four spokes.[23]

Shri T. A. Gopinath Rao explains this weapon from iconographical viewpoint thus. "*Cakra* is also characteristically *Vaiṣṇava* weapon. It is also carried by Durgā, who is said to be the sister and as such the female form of Viṣṇu. It is shown in sculptures in two different forms. In the first variety, it is shaped like the wheel of a cart, with spokes, nave etc. and is meant to be grasped by the rim. But in the other from, it is highly ornamented, the spokes are made to resemble the petals of a lotus so that the internal parts appear like a full blown lotus in the *tout ensemble*. As in the case of Śaṅkha, the *Cakra* also has ornamentations on the top and sides and a jewelled ribbon running around it."[24]

5. *Cāpa :* This is one type of bow. It was prepared from *Cāpa*-bamboo.[25]

6. *Dhanuṣ :* This means a bow. According to the *NS* it should measure eight *Tāla*s and its width should be two cubits.[26] Here it is interesting to note that the *NS* gives the tradition of four *Karaṇa*s relating to the bow. These are: *Parimārjana* (preparing), *Ādāna* (taking an arrow), *Sandhāna* (taking an aim) and *Mokṣaṇa* (shooting). The *Parimārjana* is the holding of the bow and cleaning it. *Ādāna* is the taking of an arrow, *Sandhāna* is the putting of an arrow on the bow and *Mokṣaṇa* is the shooting of the arrow.[27]

Dr. P. C. Chakravarti is of the opinion that the origin of the bow is lost in the mists of obscurity. The discovery of a number of copper and bronze arrow-heads at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa proves that the use of the weapon was known to the people of the Indus valley about the third or fourth millennium B.C.[28] The learned scholar informs us that 'The evidence of comparative philology shows that the Indo-Āryans were acquainted with archery even before they settled down in India. For, the names of the bow, bow-string and arrow

21 *Weapons, army organisation and political maxims*, p. 15.
22 *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 19.
23 *War in Ancient India*, p. 109.
24 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part I, p. 4.
25 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Tran. Shamsastry, p. 111
26 *NS*., 21.167
27 *NS*. 10.96-97.
28 *Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 151.

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are the same in Indo-Iranian and in part appear in Indo-European.'[29] The editors of the *Vedic Index* say: "*Dhanuṣ*, the 'bow' frequently mentioned in the *Ṛgveda* and later, was the chief weapon of the Vedic Indians. The last act of the funeral rite included the removal of the bow from the right hand of the dead man. The weapon was composed of a stout staff bent into a curved shape (*Vakra*) and of a bow-string (*Jyā*) made of a strip of cowhide which joined the ends. The tips of the bow, when the string was fastened were called *Artni*.[30] On the authority of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* the learned editors explain the stages of the process thus: "The stages of the process are given in *VS*, the stringing (*ā-tan*) of the bow, the placing (*Prati-dhā*) of the arrow, the bending (*Ā-yam*) of the bow, and the shooting (*As*)."[31]

In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya four types of bows are mentioned: (i) made of *Tāla* (Palmyra), (ii) of *Cāpa* (a kind of bamboo), (iii) of *Dāru* (a kind of wood), and (iv) of *Śṛṅga* (bone or horn). These are respectively called *Kārmuka*, *Kodaṇḍa*, *Drāṇa* and *Dhanuṣ*.[32]

The *Śiva Dhanurveda* mentions two types of bow, one made of bamboo (*Vaṁśam*) and the other of the horn (*Śārṅgam*).[33]

The weapon did not undergo any material change in the epic and post epic periods.[34]

We know that the varieties of bows are represented in the reliefs of Sanchi and on the Gupta coins. The history of the ancient Indian tradition says that the bow was used as the main offensive weapon and the man who showed skill in using it was highly honoured. We know that Rāma, Bhīṣma, Karṇa, Arjuna were notable *Dhanurdhara*s.

7. *Gadā*: This means a mace. According to the *NS*, it should measure four *Tāla*s.[35] This is one of the most primitive weapons of India. According to Sir John Marshall it was known to the people of the Indus valley civilization.[36] In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya three types of *Gadā* are mentioned viz. *Muṣala*, *Yaṣṭi*, and *Gadā*. During the Epic and Pauranic periods, this weapon acquired considerable popularity. Noted warriors like Bhīma, Śalya, Duhśāsana, Duryodhana, etc. were clubmen.

From iconographical view point, Shri T. A. Gopinath Rao says, "*Gadā* is the ordinary Indian club. It is held in the hand by the images with all the five

29 *Ibid.*
30 *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 388-89.
31 *Ibid.*
32 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.
33 Quoted by P. C. Chakravarti, p. 153.
34 *The Art of War in ancient India*, p. 12.
35 *NS*. 21.167.
36 *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, p. 36.

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fingers. In some cases, however, one of the hands of the image is placed upon the top of the *Gadā* which rests on the floor. In the earlier sculptures, its representation is always plain ; it has a tapering top and a stout bottom. In comparatively later instances, it is more or less elaborately ornamented." [37]

8. *Kaṇava* : A weapon with edges like a ploughshare. According to the *NS* it should measure twenty *Aṅgulas*.[38] The commentator of the *AS* identifies this weapons thus : "A metallic rod both ends of which are triangular. This is held in the middle and is 20, 22 or 24 inches long." [39]

9. *Khaḍga* : A sword. Gustav Oppert does not see any difference between *Asi* and *Khaḍga*.[40] In the *NS Khaḍga* is mentioned with *Kheṭaka* in the description of the *Bhārata Nāṭya*.[41]

According to Shri T. A. Gopinath Rao, "*Khaḍga* is a sword, long or short, and is used along with a *Kheṭaka* or shield made of wood or hide. The *Khaḍga* is either single edged or double edged and has a handle." [42]

10. *Kunta* : This means a spear. According to *NS* it should measure ten *Tālas*.[43] This was known to the people of the Indus valley civilization.[44] During the period of *Mahābhārata*, this weapon acquired great importance. It is also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[45]

11. *Paṭṭasa* : This means a battle axe. According to the *NS* it should measure six *Aṅgulas* like the *Prāsa*.[46]

According to the *Arthaśāstra* it was a razor type weapon. The commentator identifies it with *Paraśu* but shaped like a trident at both ends.[47]

On the authority of the *Nītiprakāśikā*, *Śukranīti* and *Agni Purāṇa*, Gustav Oppert says, "*Paṭṭiśa* (battle axe) is of man's height, has two sharp blades and a sharp top. Its handle has a protection for the hand. The *Paṭṭiśa* is generally called the uterine brother of the sword." [48]

It is difficult to say whether *Paṭṭasa* of the *NS* is an axe or sword or a spear.

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37 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part I, pp. 4-5.
38 *NS*. 21.169.
39 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.
40 *Weapons, army organization and political maxims*, p. 24.
41 *NS*. 10.79.
42 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, part I, p. 5.
43 *NS*. 21.166.
44 Marshall, John, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. 35.
45 Kauṭilya's *AS* Eng. Trans. Shamsastry p. 111
46 *NS*. 21.169.
47 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.
48 *Weapons, army organization and political maxims*, p. 21.

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12. *Prāsa* : A spear type weapon. According to the *NS* it should measure six *Aṅgulas*.[49] Shri V. R. R. Dikshitar states that it figures in the *Ṛgveda*[50] but the name is not mentioned in the *Vedic Index*. It is frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, it is described as the weapon with edges like ploughshare.[51]

13. *Śara* : This is an arrow. According to the *NS*, it should measure four *Tālas*.[52] It is closely connected with the bow. It is mentioned in *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*.[53] Its varieties are given in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. These are : *Veṇu*, *Śara*, *Śalākā*, *Daṇḍāsana* and *Nārāca*.[54]

The size and the length of the arrows varied from time to time. Arrows were usually feathered for the purpose of stabilizing its flight. We know that arrows were carried by the archer in one or two quivers slung over his shoulder.

14. *Śakti*: One type of spear. According to the *NS*, it should measure eight *Tālas*.[55] It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* with its different types.[56] In the *Arthaśāstra*, this weapon is described having edges like a ploughshare.[57] On the authority of the *Nītiprakāśikā*, Gustav Oppert says, "The *Śakti* is represented as being two cubits long, with a steady sideway movement. It has a sharp tongue, a horrible claw, and makes a sound like a bell. It has an open mouth, is very dark, and is coloured with the blood of the enemy. It is covered with garlands of entrails, has the mouth of a lion, and is fearful to look at. It is as broad as a fist and goes very far. It must be taken up and thrown with two hands.[58]

15. *Śataghni* : It is very difficult to say what was the real nature of this weapon. The word literally means a 'hundred killer'. This weapon was frequently used in the wars of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*.[59] According to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya this was a movable machine.[60] The commentator of the *AS* describes this weapon thus : A big pillar with immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of a fort wall.[61] This was a projectile weapon of war. Dr. P. C. Chakravarti speaks of two varieties of *Śataghnī*s

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49 *NS*. 21.168.
50 *War in Ancient India*. p. 113.
51 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111
52 *NS*. 21.167.
53 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 357.
54 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111
55 *NS*. 21.166.
56 Quoted by P. C. Chakravarti, p. 166.
57 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.
58 *Weapons, army organization and political maxims*, p. 13.
59 *War in Ancient India*, p. 115.
60 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.

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and says, " Ancient writers seem to refer to two varieties of *Śataghnīs* — the first forming part of a city 's defence, and the second used as a sort of projectile along with spears, javelins etc. " [62]

According to the *NS* it should measure eight *Tālas*. [63]

16. *Śūla* : This means a trident. According to the *NS*, it should measure eight *Tālas*. [64] In the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, it is described as a weapon of Rudra. It is referred to many times in the Epics and *Purāṇas*. In the *Arthaśātra* of Kauṭilya it is described as a weapon with edges like a plough-share. [65]

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Śūlin (wielder of *Śūla*) is a very common attribute to Śiva. He is known as Śūlapāṇi, Śūlahasta, Śūladhṛk, Triśūlin, Triśūlapāṇi, Triśūlāṅga, Sahasrodyataśūla and Jvalitaśūla, etc. [66]

It is generally believed that it is the abridged form of *Triśūla*.

Shri T. A. Gopinath Rao, from the iconographical view point says, " *Śūla* is the trident which is the favourite weapon of Śiva. It is represented in many forms and the essential feature of all these is the tripple metal pike ending in sharp points and mounted upon a long wooden handle. " [67]

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has found this weapon on the coins of *Pāñcāla* king Rudragupta and on other early coins of Vema Kadphises. [68]

17. *Tomara* : A javelin type of weapon. According to the *NS* it should measure eight *Tālas*. [69] It is frequently mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. In the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, it is described as a weapon with edges like a plough-share. [70]

On the authority of the *Nītiprakāśikā*, Gustav Oppert describes this weapon thus : The *Tomara* has a wooden body and a metal head formed like a bunch of flowers. It is three cubits long, has a red colour and is not crooked. It is moved in three ways. " [71] It was also besmeared with poison and was in consequence called *Viṣatomara*. [72]

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61 *Ibid*, fn. 24.
62 *Art of War in Anc. India*, p. 173.
63 *NS*. 21.166.
64 *NS*. 21.166.
65 Kauṭilya's *AS*. Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.
66 Patil, D. R., *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 106.
67 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, pp-7-8.
68 BDCRI, Vol. V, p. 153.
69 *NS*. 21.166.
70 Kauṭilya's *AS*, Eng. Trans. Shamsastry, p. 111.
71 *Weapons, army organization and political maxims*, p. 22.
72 *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 22.

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18. *Vajra* : This means a thunderbolt. According to the *NS* it should measure four *Tālas*.[73] This is a famous weapon of Indra. It is referred to in the *Tatt. Brāhmaṇa*.[74] In the *Tīrthayātrā* portion of the *Mahābhārata*, a mythical origin is given of this weapon. It was made out of the backbone of the *Ṛṣi* Dadhīci and was freely given to Indra.[75] In *Vāyu Purāṇa* Śiva is also called Vajra-hasta.[76]

Amongst the Buddhists one Bodhisattva is named as Vajrapāṇi.

Shri T. A. Gopinath Rao, from the iconographical view point says, " *Vajra* is the thunder-bolt. This has a long history beginning from the Buddhist period. In later Hindu mythology, it is shown in almost the same form which it had in earlier times. It is made up of two similar limbs, each having three claws, resembling the claws of birds, and both its parts are connected together by the handle in the middle.[77]

Over and above these weapons the defensive armour like *Kavaca*, *Kheṭaka*, *Carma* and *Varma* are also mentioned in the *NS*.

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73 *NS*. 21.167.
74 Tatt. Br. R. (Ānandāśrama Ed.) Vol. I, p. 139.
75 Quoted by V. R. Dikshitar, p. 110.
76 *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, p. 106.
77 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 8.

Note : The references of the *Adhyāyas* of the *NS* in this article are from the *G.O.S. Edition*

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LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE *NAVASÂHASÂṄKA-CARITA*

By

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The works on rhetoric mention *apratītatva* among the blemishes in a poetical composition. Viśvanātha explains it, under VII.3, as *ekadeśa-mātra-prasiddhatva*, i.e. well known only at one place. Despite the condemnation of this blemish, some poets indulge in it presumably to display their rich vocabulary. They do not consider the fact that such words contribute stumbling blocks to readers, and detract from the intended *rasa*. A study of the *Navasāhasāṅka-carita* of Padmagupta reveals some words denoting such meanings as are known from lexicons only. We shall collect such words, with corresponding references to the list, and act forth their meanings intended by the poet. These words are of two kinds, viz. those not frequently met with in Sanskrit literature and common words with unfamiliar sense.

The words are arranged in English alphabetical order.

Word	*Reference to text*	*Usual sense*	*Sense intended by the poet*
Aṣṭāpada	xiv.47 xvii.54	Spider. A fabulous animal called Śarabha	Gold.
Haivāka (usually *hevāka*)	vi.25		Whim
Indragopa	xiv.33		A kind of red insect.
Kāpiśāyana	xv.59		A kind of spirituous liquor
Kāśyapī	vi.22	Epithet of Garuḍa or Aruṇa	Earth
Kroḍa	ii.30	Lap	Boar
Lekha	xvii.56	Letter, writing	God
Parisrut	xv.66	Loose	Wine
Pīlu	iii.17	A kind of tree	Elephant
Pragrīva	xvi.2		Painted turret. Wooden fence around a building
Puṇḍarīka	ii.21	Lotus	Tiger
Ropa	xvii.36		Arrow
Śatahradā	xvi.69		Lightning
Suparva	xvii.34		God
Valīmukha	xiii.18		Monkey.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE HŪṆAS IN INDIA

By
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Recently three copper plates, each recording a separate grant, were found by a farmer while digging in his field on the outskirts of the town of Sanjelī in the Zalod taluka of the Panchamahal District of North Gujarat. They have been edited with facsimile plates by R. N. Mehta and A. M. Thakkar under the title of *Copper-plates of the Time of Toramāṇa* (M. S. University Archaeological Series, No. 14). As we have till now only two inscriptions of the Early Hūṇas, this publication will arouse considerable interest among scholars. A copy of it was sent to me for review in this *Journal*; but as the various problems raised by it cannot be discussed in the short space of a book-review, I am dealing with them in a separate article.

Let me first give a short account of the contents of the plates.

Plate I—This plate mentions in the beginning the year 3, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Māgha*, and then states that while the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* illustrious Toramāṇa was ruling over the earth and while *Mahārāja* Bhūta was, by his favour, governing the *viṣaya*[1] (principality) of Śivabhāgapura, certain dues and taxes were fixed as leviable from the businessmen and traders who sold their commodities in the local market, in order to meet the expenses of the worship of the god Jayasvāmin and the repairs of his temple constructed by the King's mother Vīrāḍhyikā on the eastern outskirts of Vadrapālī.

Plate II—The plate was issued from Vadrapālī by *Mahārāja* Bhūta, who is described as meditating on the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Emperor), and records the grant of two villages together with taxes, a field and a farm-house in favour of a temple of an un-named *Bhagavat* (god) constructed by the King's mother Vīrāḍhyikā. The order is addressed to royal servants and officers including a *Kumārāmātya* and an *Ārakṣika*. The plate gives at the end the date, the year 6, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Jyeṣṭha*.

Plate III—This plate was issued from Śivabhāgapura, but, unlike the two former plates, it was granted not by King Bhūta but by *Mahārāja* Mātṛdāsa, who, like King Bhūta, meditated on the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. It gives the following genealogy of the grantor—

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1. *Viṣaya* usually means ' a district ', but sometimes it is used also in the sense of 'a country', See line 11 of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, *EI.* VIII, pp. 36 f. The rulers of Śivabhāgapura had high officers like *Kumārāmātya*. Their kingdom must have been much larger than a district.

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Mahārāja Mātṛdāsa I
|
(son)
Mahārāja Bhūta
|
(son)
Mahārāja Mātṛdāsa II

This plate records the grant of the village Saṅgamapallikā to the god Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa installed in the temple which, like that of Jayasvāmin mentioned in Plate I, was situated on the eastern outskirts of Vadrapālī and had been constructed by the revered grandmother of the reigning king. She is not named in it, but she is evidently identical with the Queen-mother Vīrāḍhyikā mentioned in the two previous plates of his father. This plate is dated at the end in the year 19, the fifth *tithi*[2] of the bright fortnight of *Caitra*.

The Editors have given the texts[3] of all the three plates in *Nāgarī* together with their translations and discussed their dates on the evidence of their palaeography. Their conclusion that the characters are of the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. is acceptable. They have also identified the places mentioned in the grants. Dr. A. S. Altekar had identified the capital Śivabhāgapura of these kings with Śivarājapura. The Editors slightly differ from him. Saṅgamapallikā is the modern town Sanjelī, on the outskirts of which the three plates were found underground. It is situated 8 kilometers east of Varuṇḍa (modern representative of Vadrapālī mentioned in the grants) and so its situation answers to what is mentioned in the plates. The Editors' view that Vadrapālī was the capital of these kings does not, however, appear to be correct. Their capital was Śivabhāgapura from which Plate III was issued, and orders were communicated to royal officers.

As all the three plates were connected with the same temple complex, they were evidently in the possession of the same priestly family which resided at Saṅgamapallikā (modern Sanjelī). Hence, they have been found at that place underground. A similar instance has recently come to notice at Māṇḍhaḷ near Nagpur, where as many as three Vākāṭaka copper-plate grants have been found together as they had been in the possession of the same *Brāhmaṇa* family.[4]

The Editors refer all the three dates of these plates, *viz.* 3, 6 and 19 to the reign of Toramāṇa (whose name they have wrongly read as *Storamāṇa* in the first line of Plate I). On this basis, they have fixed the dates of that Hūṇa king

2. The Editors have not been able to interpret correctly the symbol of the day in line 6 of Plate III. What they have read as *dinā* is really *di* 5. See the symbol denoting the *tithi* in line 34 of the Abhona plates, CII., IV, plate facing p. 41.

3. The texts require corrections here and there, but better plates would be required for the purpose. The reading in line 1 of plate is *Śrī-Toramāṇe*-not *Śris-Toramāṇe*.

4. See the *Saṁśodhana-muktāvali* of the Vidarbha Saṁśodhana Maṇḍal, Nagpur, Vol. XX, pp. 142 f.

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and his son and successor Mihirakula. Their argument is as follows :—The total of the reign-periods of Toramāṇa (19 years mentioned in Plate III) and of Mihirakula (15 years mentioned in his Gwalior inscription[5]) comes to 34 years. The latter Hūṇa king was overthrown by Yaśodharman in *circa* A.D. 530 (see his Mandasor stone inscription[6] of Mālavā, Saṁvat 589=A.D. 532). So (A.D. 530 minus 34 =) A.D. 496 is the first year of Toramāṇa's reign. The Maitraka king Droṇasiṁha[7] (G.S. 183=A.D. 503) and others who describe themselves in their grants as meditating on the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and who were ruling in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. in Saurāṣṭra, were feudatories not of the Guptas as is generally supposed, but, of the Hūṇas.

It is difficult to accept these conclusions. The new dynasty of the kings of Śivabhāgapura which is coming to notice now, was no doubt feudatory to the Hūṇas, but we cannot accept the view that the dates mentioned in their plates are of the reign of Toramāṇa. His name is mentioned only in the first plate. In the other two plates, he is not mentioned at all. In ancient times when any feudatories dated their records, they mentioned in them their own dates, not those of their suzerains. If any era was current in their country, they dated their grants in it. Otherwise, they dated them in their own regnal years not in those of their suzerain, though they described themselves as meditating on their feet. Here, I may anticipate an objection. "How does Dhanyaviṣṇu" it may be asked, "date his Eraṇ inscription in the first regnal year of his suzerain Toramāṇa?"[8] The question is not difficult to answer. If we read the inscription carefully, we shall notice that Dhanyaviṣṇu is not mentioned therein as a feudatory of Toramāṇa, but, only as a commoner. In that inscription the title *Mahārāja* is not applied to him but to his deceased brother Mātṛviṣṇu, who was a feudatory of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta. So, there should be no doubt about the dates 6 and 19 of Plates II and III being the regnal years of *Mahārāja* Bhūta and *Mahārāja* Mātṛdāsa II respectively. The date Year 3 of Plate I must similarly be regarded as the regnal year of *Mahārāja* Bhūta, though the name of his suzerain *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* illustrious Toramāṇa, being mentioned immediately after it, causes suspicion in this matter. We cannot, therefore, say that Toramāṇa ruled in the western part of Central India for as many as 19 years. The years 3 and 6 mentioned in Plates I and II are of the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhūta and the year 19 of Plate III is the regnal year of his successor *Mahārāja* Mātṛdāsa II.

The Hūṇas became known to us for the first time towards the close of the fourth century A.D. Kālidāsa (circa A.D. 400) mentions them as settled in the

5. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (*CII.*) III. pp. 161 f.
6. *Ibid.*, III. pp. 169 f.
7. *El.* XVI, pp. 18 f.
8. *CII.* III. pp. 158 f.

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valley of the Vaṅkṣu[9] (Oxus). Thereafter, their hordes invaded India from time to time till the seventh century A.D.[10] The earliest of them occurred soon after the death of Kumāragupta I in *circa* A.D. 455. The fragmentary Bhītarī inscription describes Skandagupta's struggle with them as 'shaking the earth'.[11] He obtained a resounding victory over them, which the Junagaḍh inscription dated in the Gupta year 137 (A.D. 456-57) describes as 'extolled even by his enemies living in the country of the Mlecchas'.[12] The Hūṇas were not, however, totally exterminated. They probably continued to hold some parts of Central India; for we find that their leader Toramāṇa could pounce on the territory round Eraṇ in the heart of the Gupta Empire in the very first year of his reign. The date of this incursion can be fixed approximately. An inscription[13] at Eraṇ dated in the Gupta Saṁvat 165 (A.D. 484-85) during the reign of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta records the erection of a flag-staff (*dhvaja-staṁbha*) by *Mahārāja* Mātṛviṣṇu and his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu. The next inscription[14] at the same place Eraṇ dated in the first regnal year of Toramāṇa states that Mātṛviṣṇu was then dead and his brother Dhanyaviṣṇu erected a temple of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu there. Mātṛviṣṇu may not have died immediately after G.S. 165. The construction of the temple, installation of the image of the Great Boar, and the invasion of Toramāṇa may have easily taken about five years. So, we can place the commencement of Toramāṇa's reign approximately in A.D. 490.

Till now we had no other evidence of Toramāṇa's rule in the Central India.[15] Plate I now discovered in Sanjelī shows that Toramāṇa had conquered some portion of North Gujarat also, where we find *Mahārāja* Bhūta ruling as his feudatory. The plate states that Bhūta had obtained his kingdom of Śivabhāgapura by Toramāṇa's favour. This means that he had not obtained it by succession. His father *Mahārāja* Mātṛdāsa I also was a feudatory as he is described

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9. See *Raghu.* IV. 67.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वंक्षुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥

10. Bāṇa (7th cen. A.D.) mentions Rājyavardhana fighting with the Hūṇas on the frontier of India.

11. See हूणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता । *CII.* III. p. 54.

12. See अपि च जितमेव तेन प्रथयन्ति यशांसि यस्य ।
रिपवोप्यामूलभग्नदर्पा निवसन्तो म्लेच्छदेशेषु ॥ *Ibid.*,

13. *CII.* III. pp. 88 f.

14. *Ibid.*, III. pp. 158 f.

15. The Kura stone inscription (*EI.* I, pp. 239 f.) mentions one Toramāṇa ruling in the Salt range in the Panjab, but he may have been an ancestor of the Toramāṇa of the Eraṇ inscription. It is incredible that he was ruling directly over the vast territory from the Salt range in the Panjab to the Sagar District in Madhya Pradesh.

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in Plate III as meditating on the feet of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Emperor). But, his suzerain was probably a Gupta king. Gupta power had penetrated into the neighbouring Saurāṣṭra country long before, after the overthrow of the Western Kṣatrapas by Candragupta II. If an inscription of *Mahārāja* Māṭṛdāsa I is discovered hereafter, it will probably be found dated in the Gupta era. When *Mahārāja* Bhūta obtained his principality from the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa, he naturally gave up dating his records in the Gupta era.[16] He began to date them in the regnal years. For the same reason Toramāṇa's suzerainty could not have extended to Saurāṣṭra, as conjectured by the Editors of these plates. Otherwise, we would have found the records of the contemporary Maitraka king Droṇasiṁha dated not in the Gupta era but in regnal years.

Toramāṇa's empire thus extended from Eraṇ in the east to North Gujarat in the west.[17] As stated before, he probably commenced his reign in A.D. 490. How long did his rule continue? Another inscription[18] at Eraṇ gives us a clue in this matter. It is dated in the Gupta year 191 (A.D. 510). It states that Goparāja, an ally of the Gupta King Bhānugupta, came to Eraṇ with him. The latter is described as 'the bravest man on the earth, equal in valour to Arjuna'.[19] Goparāja fell fighting in the battle of Eraṇ and his wife immolated herself as *Satī*. The enemy against whom the Gupta Emperor Bhānugupta and his friend Goparāja fought at Eraṇ is not mentioned in the inscription, but a little reflection will show that he must have been Toramāṇa. He was probably defeated in the battle. Otherwise, the inscription eulogising the Gupta Emperor would not have been allowed to be incised on the memorial pillar at Eraṇ.[20] Toramāṇa evidently lost the Airikiṇa *viṣaya* to the Guptas. Here is another date (A.D. 510) of Toramāṇa's reign.

Later, Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana defeated Mihirakula, the successor of Toramāṇa. His Mandasor Victory Pillar inscription[21] which mentions this event is not dated, but another inscription of his reign, *viz.* the Mandasor stone inscrip-

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16. The Gupta era was used by the feudatories of the Guptas. It was a mark of Gupta supremacy.

17. The Mandasor pillar inscription of Yaśodharman states that several kings acknowledged the supremacy of the Hūṇa kings. They must have been ruling over parts of U.P., Rājasthāna etc. where Gupta inscriptions have not yet been noticed.

18. *CII.* III, pp. 91 f.

19. See श्रीभानुगुप्तो जगति प्रवीरो
राजा महान्यार्थसमोतिशूरः । *CII.* III p. 92.

20. The pillar on which this inscription is incised was originally erected by the *Senāpati* Satyanāga of the Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa* Śridharavarman to commemorate a victory. See o article on it in *CII.* IV, pp. 605 f.

21. *CII.* III. pp. 141. f

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tion,[22] which mentions his imperial titles *Rājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* is dated in the Mālava (Vikrama) Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532). This inscription was evidently incised after his defeat of Mihirakula, when he became lord of the country extending from the Himālayas to the Mandara mountain, and from Assam to the Western Sea. So we may fix his defeat of Mihirakula in *circa* A.D. 530. The Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula is dated in his fifteenth regnal year. It was certainly not the last year of his reign. He may well have continued to rule for a few years more, say five-years. In that case he may have succeeded Toramāṇa in *circa* A.D. 510. If this is true, Toramāṇa was not only defeated but was actually killed in the Battle of Eraṇ in A.D. 510. In any case, it appears certain that Mātṛdāsa II mentioned in Plate III was a feudatory, not of Toramāṇa, but of Mihirakula.

The discovery of these plates in North Gujarat throws some further light on the final conflict of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula with the Aulikara Emperor Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana. We have seen above that Toramāṇa's feudatory *Mahārāja* Bhūta was ruling over the Panchamahal District of North Gujarat. Toramāṇa himself may have been ruling over the country to the north of it.[23] He was thus a western neighbour of the Aulikaras who held the Nīmach-Mandasor region. They ruled over this territory for several generations.[24] They maintained their independence even in the heyday of Gupta supremacy. They ruled for a long time from Daśapura (modern Mandasor), and did not submit to the Guptas even after the latter made Ujjain, not far away from Mandasor, their second capital during the reign of Candragupta II. They dated their records in the Mālava (Vikrama) Saṁvat.[25] It was only later, during the time of Kumāragupta I, that Bandhuvarman of this family submitted to the contemporary Gupta Emperor for some time.[26] Even then, the Gupta era did not become current in the Aulikara territory. All their subsequent records also are dated in the Mālava Saṁvat.

From some recently discovered stone inscriptions[27] we have come to know a good deal about these Aulikaras and their feudatories, the Mānavāyanis. The latter were ruling first over the Nīmach region north of Daśapura. As stated before, Daśapura was then the capital of the Aulikaras. About the close of the fifth century A.D. the Aulikara king Ādityavardhana, finding that the Guptas could not hold their own against the barbarian hordes of the Hūṇas, occuppied Avanti and shifted his capital to Ujjain. His feudatory Mānavāyani Gauri's

22. *Ibid.*, III. pp. 159. Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana were not different as supposed by the Editors.

23. He may have held parts of U.P. and Rājasthāna also.

24. At least eight kings of the Aulikara family are known, five of whom, ruled from Daśapura. See our *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I (second ed.), pp. 223 f.

25. See e.g. *CII.* III. pp. 72 f.

26. *Ibid., III.* pp. 79 f.

27. See the references in our *Studies in Indology*, I (second ed.), pp. 223 f.

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stone inscription dated Mālava Saṁvat 547 (A.D. 490) has been found at Choti Sadri near Nīmach.[28] The Mānavāyanis next seem to have moved southward and occupied Daśapura where their subsequent records have been discovered.

The Aulikara king Ādityavardhana was succeeded by *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana, whom Varāhamihira (A.D. 525) in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* mentions as the ruler of Avanti.[29] His successor was the famous Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhan, the redoubtable vanquisher of Mihirakula.

The Aulikaras who ruled from Ujjain and their feudatories the Mānavāyanis of Daśapura were thus the eastern neighbours of the Hūṇas who held the territory north of the Panchamahal District of North Gujarat. It would not be surprising if they became hostile to one another. It seems that Mihirakula invaded the territory of the Mānavāyani king Gauri. The latter appealed to his suzerain, the Aulikara king Yaśodharman, for help. He rushed to his aid. In a sanguinary battle fought at Daśapura, Yaśodharman inflicted a crushing defeat on Mihirakula. He, however, spared his life when he prostrated at his feet. Yaśodharman then erected two monolithic pillars at Daśapura to commemorate his splendid victory in the battle which was fought at the place. This is the reason why the pillars were erected not in his own capital Ujjain but in that of his feudatory of the Mānavāyani family.[30]

Yaśodharman then carried his arms far and wide and established his supremacy in North India as described in his inscriptions on the Victory Pillars.[31]

The ruler of Śivabhāgapura also must have acknowledged the supremacy of Yaśodharman; but we have no further record of his time. The Maitrakas of Valabhī, who gradually became more powerful, must have attacked the rulers of Śivabhāgapura and incorporated their principality in their own kingdom. We have two subsequent records which indicate this, *viz.* (1) the Kapaḍavanj plates[32] of Dhruvasena III, dated Gupta Saṁvat 334 (A.D. 653-54) and (2) the Alīṇā plates [33] of Kharagraha II, dated Gupta Saṁvat 337 (A.D. 656-57). They mention the *viṣaya* of Śivabhāgapura as situated in the kingdom of the Maitrakas.

The Sanjelī plates of the kings of Śivabhāgapura have thus shed much further light on the early histosy of the Hūṇas in India.

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28. *Loc. cit.*

29. See भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः ।
आवन्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥ *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LXXXVI, V. 2.

30. In *H.C.I.P.* III. p. 37 Majumdar, R. C. says, " It would appear that while Mihirakula was advancing into the interior of India, he was opposed by Yaśodharman ". There is no basis for this supposition. If the battle with Mihirakula was fought so far in the north, Yaśodharman's victory pillars would not have been erected at Mandasor,

31. There is apparently much exaggeration in the description of the countries under the rule of Yaśodharman. There are no other signs of his supremacy in such wide areas.

32. *EI.* I, pp. 85 f.

33. *IA.* VII. pp. 76 f.

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INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON GUJARATI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

By

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I. Influence on the Language

Middle Indo-Aryan Language stage was on a point to be developed into Neo-Indo-Aryan dialects at the beginning of the 11th cent. A.D. Thus the Apabhraṁśa Language with its dialects in Western India was in an evolving stage with some peculiar new changes. The first authentic Apabhraṁśa grammar given by the famous Ācārya Hemacandrasūri at the end of his notable work Siddha-Hema Vyākaraṇa was a new land-mark for the development of dialects of Western India. The remark at the end of his grammar is noteworthy. Concluding the treatment of the Apabhraṁśa Language he said :

शेषं संस्कृतवत् सिद्धम्

Whatever you can not find in the grammar about Apabhraṁśa, is nothing but steriotype Sanskrit. And we can see that some pure Sanskrit words and forms were gradually getting prominence. There may be some trends holding their influence in the body of the Sanskrit words.

The use of an extinct vowel ऋ (*r*) is drawing attention in words like :

तृणु-सङ्कु (329), गृह्णइ (336-1), गृह्णन्ति (341-2), कृदन्तहो (370-4), घृण (350-2), गृण्हेप्पिणु (394), तृणाइं (422-15).

The consonant र (*r*) as a second member in conjuncts is purely a Sanskrit peculiarity, which is abundantly found in such words like :

भ्रन्त्रि (360-1), ह्रुव-बोप्प (391-1), भ्रतु (394-1), भ्रुवु (418-3), द्रवक्क (422-4), द्रनु (422-4), प्रमाणु (438-3), भ्रन्तडी (414-), प्रङ्गणि (360-1), प्रङ्गणइ (420-2), प्रयावदि (404-1), प्रस्सदि (393-0), प्रवाँणिअउ (422-1), प्राउ-पाइव-प्राइम्व (417).

I have no doubt that in the 11th and 12th century A.D., not only in the present land of Gujarat, even in the vast tract of the present Rajasthan and Western Madhya Pradesha including the land of old Nimād, the common language of the people was rather the Gaurjara Apabhraṁśa. There might be occassional dialectical trends in the speech, yet we have little evidence to find out difference. The works already found are from Gujarat, excepting one inscription from Dhar in M. P. near Indore. The *Pṛthvirāja-Rāso* and *Visaladeva-Rāso* are later works, *Khumāṇa-Rāso* being of a very late date. According to Dr. Dhirendra Varma the language of the Paheliyā of Amir Khushro represents a stage of a very very late period. Jaina Bhaṇḍāras of North Gujarat and Western

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Rajasthan possess very important Mss. of the old period, majority of the works of Jaina authors. And we very well know that in the histories of the Hindi Literature, those works found in these Bhandāras have been considered as representing the old form of even Hindi Language, which has no logical as well as historical footing. Rajasthani dialects, at present, are considered as dialects of the Hindi Language, but they have no family relation with Modern Hindi Language. Family relation is only with Gujarati Language. We know that the late Dr. Tessitori chose a common name of the language stage as the Old Western Rājasthānī. The reason is quite clear. We are not in position to differentiate oldest forms of Mārwāḍī, Jaipurī-Ḍhūḍhāḍī, Mewādī, Hādautī, Māḷavī and Nimādī of the medieval period. All these old dialects were being separated in the 15th cent. A.D. as was found in contemporary MSS. material. We get purely Gujarati language in that century, in MSS. mostly found in Gujarat and Western Rajasthan. In the period beginning from the time of Ācārya Hemacandra, i.e., the latter half of the 12th cent. A.D. to the former half of the 15th cent. A.D. the Sanskrit words paved their way in the literature in their original form and/or in a currupted form which was quite independent non-prakritic mode. I shall give here a prose passage found in a Ms. dating V.S. 1330 (1274 A.D.) written as Āśāpallī (which was situated at the place of southern suburbs of modern Ahmedabad) :

" पंच परमेष्ठिनमस्कारु जिनशासनि सारु चतुर्दशपूर्वसमुद्धारु, संपादितसकलकल्याणसंभारु विहितदुरितापहारु क्षुद्रोपद्रवपवैतवज्रप्रहारु लीलादलितसंसारु सु तुम्हि अनुसरहु, जिणि कारणि चतुर्दशपूर्वधर चतुर्दशपूर्वसंबंधिंडं ध्यानु परित्यजउ । "

[*Āpaṇā Kavio*, Pt. I, p. 254]

One thing is to be known that in poetry Jaina, authors were still using old forms of the Apabhraṁśa nature, but the prose was highly influenced by Sanskrit loans. Within a period of 29 years the second version of the above prose writing is found representing the old Gujarati stage. Let us be clear that it is a pure old Gujarati version devoid of any straces of the allied dialects or languages. Vast literature of the succeeding period is available in Ms. form, some of which has been already published. Even some prose works have been also published. Scores of such prose works are lying in Bhaṇḍāras and Mss. libraries unpublished.

Though the roots are as old as the time of Ācārya Hemacandra, i.e. 12th cent. A.D. the pure Gujarati stage paved its footing in the early tens of the 14th century A.D. A prose *Bālāva-bodha*, i.e., a running illustrative grammatical commentary by Taruṇaprabha composed in 1355 A.D. is a fine model of the old Gujarati stage. The influence of Sanskrit language is clearly distinguishable as it was the case of a prose passage given beforehand. The following extract will help us in getting a clear view :

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" सम्यक्त्व गुण-रहइं आविर्भावकु श्रीनरवर्म महाराजकथानकु लिखियइ । इही जि जंबूद्वीप माहि भरतक्षेत्र माहि मगधनामि जनपदु छइ । तिहां विजयवती नामि नगरी, तिहां नरवर्मु नामि राजा, रतिसुंदरी नामि पट्ट महादेवी हूंती, हरिदत्तु नामि पुत्तु हूंतउ, मतिसागरादिक अनेकि महामात्य हुंता । "

[*Ibid.*, p. 351]

Within fifty years the development is established and the prose takes its noticeable form. A passage from a *Bālāvabodha* of Somasundarasūri will be useful :

" कादंबरी अटवीइं वटवृक्ष २ सूडा सगा भाइ हूता । एक सूडओ भीले लीधओ । पर्वत पालि मांहि वाधिओ तेह भणी गिरि-शुक कहीवराइं । बीजओ सूडओ तापसे लीधओ तेहना तपोवन मांहि वाधिओ तेह भणी ते पुष्प-शुक कहीइं । "

[*Ibid* , p. 367]

Though not found abundantly, a rythmic style was also developed. *Prthvī-chandra-carita* of Māṇekyacandrasūri is a beautiful novel of that time. Let us have a piece from it :

" तिसिह आविउ वसंत, हूउ शीत तणउ अंत । दक्षिण दिसि तणउ शीतल वाउ वाइं । विहसइं वणराइं ।...मउरिया सहकार, चंपक उदार, वेउल बकुले, भ्रमरकुलसकुल, कलरव करइं कोकिल तणा कुल' etc. [*Ibid.*, p. 372]

Works of authors other than Jainas are seldom available of that early period. Only two poetry works : Asāita Nāyaka's *Haṁsāuli* (1371 A.D.) and Bhīma's *Sadayavatsa-Kathā* (1404 A.D.) are so far have come in light. A prose work named *Gaṇita-sāra* (1393 A.D.) is also available. In all these works also Sanskrit loan words are in abandance.

Authors of this century now are in a position to represent such a form of language, which is mostly free from traces of contemporary dialects of the boarder-lands. It is, then, a form of the earlier phase of the Gujarati Language, the name of which was accepted as ' Gujara-bhākhā , by a prominent poet namely Bhālaṇa of the first half of the 16th cent. A.D., who contributed a few hundred lyrical and narrative songs also. Some fifty years earlier, the language was fortunate to have a great devotee and a poet, named Narasiṁha Mehta, who contributed a great many hundreds of lyrical and narrative songs quite independently in such a language stage which could be easily called earliest one of the Modern Gujarati Language. He was very much influenced by the most popular Sanskrit lyrical poem, the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva Kavi and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* He was also in sharp influence of the famous Marāṭhi saint poet Nāmadeva. Narasiṁha's famous Jhūlaṇā Metre is in some respect a steriotype copy of Nāmadeva's Abnaṅgas. This is the century from where the works of authors other than Jainas come in front. Hundreds of Mss. of the works upto the middle of the ninteenth cent. A.D. are available, a great bulk is also available in several individual as well as collective printed works.

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It is noteworthy that the famous Prakrit Grammarian Mārkaṅḍeya of the 15th cent. A.D., differentiating peculiarities of the Apabhraṁśa dialects informed us that the Gaurjarī dialect was full of Sanskrit loan words :

संस्कृताढ्या च गौर्जरी ।

We have seen in the earliest quotation, how richly the Sanskrit Vocabulary influenced the language. Here I shall quote only prose works, because generally they only represent the clear development of the language. A quotation from a heroic poem : *Kānhaḍade-Prabandha* of Padmanābha—a Nagir brahman of Gujarat, who composed it in the year 1456 A.D. at Jalor near Jodhpur (Rajasthan), runs as it follows :

" श्रीनगर जालहुर तणी रचना । गढ मढ मंदिर पोलि पगार । अट्टालीयां मालीयां टोडडे त्रिकलसां गगनचुंबित कोसीसां । सातपणां धवलगृहां रम्य प्रवेश । सूकडिय गवाक्ष । मलयगिरी जालि । कृष्णागिरी थांभली । मणिबद्ध काचबद्ध भूमि ' and so on.

[K. B. Vyāsa's Edi., p. 157]

Here a prose work : *Pañcākhyāua-Bālāvabodha* of Yaśodhīra—a Jaina author is also noteworthy. Though a Jaina, he represents a pure Gujarati language, such as :

" दक्षण देश मद्धे महिलारोप्य एह्वि नामि नगर छि० तिहां सकल शास्त्रनो कल्पवृक्ष मोटा जे राजा तेणि नमस्करणीय ' and so on.

[*Pañcākhyāna-Bālāvabodha* p. 3]

As I said beforehand Jaina authors were utilising Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa word-forms relatively in a great-bulk, while authors other than Jainas were found leaning more towards Sanskrit even in poetical works also.

The language of Gujarat in its present form is found in Mss. mostly beginning in the 17th cent. A.D. Authors freely use Sanskrit loans, later on without distinction whether they are Jaina or non Jainas. The note worthy feature begins in the beginning of the 19th cent. A.D. The famous Vaishnav Saint Sahajānandasvāmī gave his preachings in a running Gujarati prose, while last representative poet of the Gujaratī Language old period, namely Dayārāma giving hundreds of lyrical songs, wrote some prose works also. A piece from one of his prose works will give idea of the language form :

" तुंने श्रीगुरुदेव्यें आत्मसात करी नें, श्रीहस्तकमल तथा युगलचरणकमल तारे मस्तकें मूकीनें, सकळ अपराध माफ कऱ्या छे, सकल पाप ताहारां भस्मीभूत थै गयां; श्रीमुख्यें कयुं छे जे " ताहारा हृदेमां अखंड श्रीजी विराजो, अने हावां पुनहां जन्म नथी " and so on.

[*Anubhava-mañjarī*, p. 187]

Upto the forties and fifties of that century, under the rule of the company Sarkar the regular schools were opened and prose text books were coming in existence. Here two phases of the modern Gujarati were in process simulta-

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niously : 1. currupted and 2. of a rather pure form. In the latter one the purity of the spelling was noteworthy. It has been found that the purity of spelling started in Bombay and came in Gujarat in the sixties of that century after the establishment of the University of Bombay in 1857 A.D. Hope Reading Series laid a foundation stone in that direction and ultra-modern Gujarati came in existence. As the university education was increasing day by day students had chances to be familiar with the different sciences. And we see that many technical terms came out. Most of these words were coined from Sanskrit. Some old Sanskrit terminology was also useful. The process is everlasting.

Apart from this, there developed different forms of literature. Journalism had also its marked importance. To enrich the language the main source—say treasure, was and is Sanskrit. Exepting technical books, the language, at present, has no peculiar distinction in its words, for a common man whether the words he or she uses in his or her daily usage are pure Gujarati words or Sanskrit loans, to say even for a word whether it is a loan from Arabi-Phārsi or a Portuguese or an English.

II. Influence on Literature

(*1*) *Classical Metres :*

It is to be particularly noted that the variety of Sanskrit literary forms were not adopted even in the Prakrit stage, not a least in the Apabhraṁśa stage also. This was the case even when our modern Indo-Aryan languages were immerging slowly. As mentioned above, the Apabhraṁśa grammar portion of the Siddha-Hema Grammar of Ācārya Hemacandra was a landmark for the literature of the country. Majority of the quoted verses are of a folk nature, which were floating on the tongues of the people all over Western Rajasthan including Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kacch. The first noteworthy poem so far known is a *Rāsa-Kāvya —the Bharateśvara-Bāhubali Rāsa* of Śālibhadrasūri composed in 1185 A.D. This form was unknown to Sanskrit, which was an off-short of a Saṁdhi-Kāvya form of Apabhraṁśa language. But the poetic nature is quite on the lines of Sanskrit. Narration, figures of speech, sentiments and such other poetic elements are of the same nature, though not reaching to the richness of Sanskrit. The *Rāsa* and other literary forms, developed chiefly in the stage of the later Apabhraṁśa, which I termed as Uttara-Gaurjara Apabhraṁśa, were devoid of classical Sanskrit metres, with the exception of some later Phāgu poems of the early Gujarati period. Local singable non-Sanskritic metres developed in the Prakrit stage and were noted in the *Bharata-Nātyaśāstra* as Dhruvās, which were found utilised in the 4th Act of *Vikramorvaśīya*, one of the three plays of the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, considered as later interpolations. When we come in the 12th cent. A.D. we are fortunate to get a lyrical poem—*Gīta-Govīnda* of Jayadeva Kavi, which contains 24 pure songs. The language is Sanskrit, but the metres utilised in all the songs are purely non-Sanskritic. At that

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stage Dūhās, Copāīs, Savaiyās, Harigītas, Jhūlaṇās and such other rythmic metres became common. The last eight hundred years have given such local melodious singable metres continuously upto the present time. Exceptionally in a span of some less than seven hundred years upto the last century, we come across even not a few but few works where the classical metres were or are used. So far known works are *Arbudācala-vīnati* of Jayaśekharasūri (15th cent. A.D.—only nine Druta-vilambita verses, and a few Upajāti verses in his *Tribhuvana-dīpaka Prabandha*, *Virāta Parvan* of Śālisūri (15th cent., A.D.) using Svāgata, Upajāti, Mālinī, Vasantatilakā and Druta-vilambita metres, some Phāgus such as *Suraṅgā-bhidda Nemi Phāga* of Dhanadevagaṇi (1446 A.D.), *Caturmukha Ādinātha Phāga* of an unknown author (1501 A.D. or so) *Raṅgasāgara Neminātha Phāgu* (about 1400 A D.)—all these Phāgus with stray Śārdūla-vikrīḍita verses, and two non-Jaina works—*Rūpasundara Kathā* (1650 A D.) of Mādhava and *Bhāṣā-Vicitra* of Gopāla Bhatta (of the same century) are also noteworthy. These poets, when presenting their narratives, are, in majority cases, cautions to have the same touch resembling to the Sanskrit one. Illustrations are—

तारुण्यार्क शिशुत्व-नीर सुकवे ए मेद दीधो हृदे.
नाठा नेत्र-कुरंग कोतर भणी, मन्दत्व आप्युं पदे.
निःश्रेणी त्रिवली स्मरे धरी हवे मध्ये जशे, शुं थयुं ?
आशाने तनु, विश्वनाथ, चरणाम्भोजे तमो लागवुं. २७

[*Gujarāti Sāhityanu Rekhādarśana*, p. 204]

This is from *Rūpasundara Kathā*, while from *Bhāṣāvicitra* is as it follows :

कुचविमर्दन वेणिलता ग्रही, अधरचुम्बन सीत्कृति ते सही.
उरनखक्षत कोप-लवे थशे, चतुर जे नरनार भलां हशे. ३४
सकल भूषण कज्जल संगजे, तिलक अंजन बीटक रंग जे.
नयनबाण निरीक्षण शोभशे, चतुर जे नरनार भलां हशे. ३५

[*Ibid.*, p. 203]

Three plays of the classical Sanskrit type, ascribed to the famous Gujarati poet Premānanda of the second half of the 17th cent. A.D. were published in the fourth quarter of the 18th cent. A.D. have been found fabrications, and hence their place will be in the later period.

As I said before hand the ultra-modern Gujarati period begins in its true form after the establishment of the University of Bombay New literary forms were a dopted and a new era started even in the case of poetry. Dalapatram and Narmadashankar are the known poets of that period. Both of these poets used classical metres abundantry in their vast contributions. Both of them gave works on poetics and metres in which definitions as well as illustrations were given in Gujarati. Thence a hoard of educated poets came forward and some of them immitating foreign forms, used mostly classical Sanskrit metres.

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Narsimharao Divatia, Govardhanram M. Tripathi, Manilal Nabhubhai, Ramanbhai Nilkanth and such prominent poets up to the present day used and living ones do use classical metres in their poems, some of them have introduced new varieties in those classical metres also.

(2) *Themes*

From the beginning of the earliest phase of the modern Gujarati language, the themes were of the Sanskrit origin. The Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, most of the Purāṇas, later Sanskrit Story literature such Kathā-sarit-sāgara and several such works giving stories about Vikramāditya Emperor and such other legendary ones in Sanskrit were source works. Most of the non-Jaina authors and some Jaina ones also took their stories from the above mentioned works and continuously not less than five centuries, i.e., from the second half of the 14th cent. A.D. to the end of the middle half of the 19th cent. A.D. were indebted to the above mentioned works mostly. There are a few philosophical poems also. The sources of such ones were the *Bhagavad-Gīta*, *Yogavāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* and such other ones of a petty nature. Narasiṁha Mehtā had also sung some philosophical songs, perhaps in the influence of Upaniṣadic trend. Most prominent were Akho and Dayārām, Akho being conversant in the Advaita Philosophy of Ādya Śaṅkarācāryajī and Dayārām in the Śuddhādvaita Philosophy of Vallabhācāryajī. It can not be ascertained that both of them were scholars of Sanskrit, however they were able to get efficiency through their teachers..

Narasiṁha Mehta translated some Sanskrit verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* independently in his *Rāsa-sahasrapadī* and imitated Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* in his Cāturīs. After him several authors contributed their vast singable literature taking stories and incidents from Sanskrit Purāṇa literature. Vīrasiṁha, Karmaṇa, Maṇḍaṇa, Bhīma, Bhālaṇa, Śrīdhara, Nākara, Kāśī-suta, Haridāsa, Viṣṇudāsa, Śivadāsa, Avicaladāsa, Vaikuṇṭha, Bhāna, Premananda, Ratneśvara and others were fully indebted to Sanskrit Purāṇa literature. Most of their poems —all narratives, i.e., Ākhyānas established a new form in the medieval period. Amongst these Bhālaṇa of the first half of the 16th cent. A.D. and Ratneśvara of the later half of the 17th century A.D. were translators also. Bhālaṇa translated *Durgā-saptaśatī* verbatum and *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa Bhatta in an abridged form. In his *Kādambarī* we can see verbatum translation of picked up Sanskrit pieces from that Sanskrit classic in an *ākhyāna* type poetic narration, a master work not only for that time, for all the times, so far known. Ratneśvara translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Jaiminīyā Aśvamedha Parvan* verbatum. Though translations, readers can not have any idea that they are translations.

Original writers are also in abundance in a span of all these centuries, utilising the matter from Purāṇas mostly. Lyrical side of Narasiṁha Mehta, Bhālaṇa, Mirā, Gopāla, Akho, Raje, Ranchod, Raghunātha, Bāpu, Dhīro,

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Muktānanda, Brahmānanda, Niṣkulānanda, Premānanda, Premasakhī, Śivānanda and Dayārāma is also noteworthy for their following of the theory of sentiments (*Rasa-Siddhānta*) rather in a simpler way. It is noteworthy that most of them were under the influence of the songs of Kabir and Aṣṭachāpa Vrajabhāṣā poets.

Even modern authors are highly indebted to the Purāṇa literature. Authors like late K. M. Munshi reached even to the Vedic legends also.

With the ever increasing college education new forms of literature paved their way in Gujarati as in other New-Indo-Aryan languages. The novel-writing as well as story-writing is an imitation of the western literature. Though foreign, the style of narration was and is of a Sanskrit nature. *Karaṇa-ghelo* of Nandshankar Mehta, *Sadharā Jesing* of Mahipatram Nilkanth, *Rāṇakdevī* of Anantprasad Shri-vaishnav—are all of such a mixed nature. Descriptions of different situations generally follow the Sanskrit trend. In several other contributions even themes are pauraṇic.

In the field of Dramas, the beginning was from Dalapatram and Narmadashankar, both of them adopted foreign trend, even Navalram gave '*Vīramatī*' in the same way. Ranchodbhai Uderam wrote a number of plays in the classical Sanskrit style leaning towards western trends, giving verses mostly in classical metres. In last hundred years hundreds of stageable plays were written and were being performed on a grand scale, but a few have been published. Beginning of all these plays was marked for their introduction of the classical type, a novel feature to the foreign stage. Now the number of acts was limited to three generally, but deviding each and every act in several scenes. Notable thing was that several plays had their themes from pauraṇic sources. Such was the case of the works in the poetic field also.

In conclusion I must say that the modern trend is leaning towards westernism, and the different forms of western literature are predominant, yet the language is becoming rich using easiest Sanskrit loan words. Majority of the technical terms, old as well as newly formed, are Sanskrit, with an open mind. The Gujarati Language has one noticeable peculiarity. In its long course it adopted words from all the languages with which it came into contact, yet the words so taken as loans are quite common and intelligible whether they are in their pure form i.e. '*tatsama*' or slightly altered to be suitable to the Gujarati tongue. No bombastic words, whether they are from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French, English or from any other modern Indian Languages, have been and are being honoured. Generally simple words are being taken as loans from all these languages, giving preference to Sanskrit and used as if they are of this region. There might be and are a few attempts either to give Sanskritised or persianised style, but never followed. The peculiarity of Gujarat people is in their adaptability and simplicity in each and every mode of life. The soil of

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this region has no property of fanaticism of any sort. It is a fact that modern poets, play-wrights, novelists, short story-writers authors of papers and articles, critics, even journalists and others have adopted the mode and style from the vast English literature and other allied sources and developed it to a large extent, yet when we hear and read their writings, we feel as if they are written in the Sanskritic atmosphere, because of the richness of the language and its natural heridity.

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BHOJA'S ŚṚṄGĀRAPRAKĀŚA : PRAKRIT TEXT RESTORED

By

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In Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* we find Prakrit (and Apabhraṁśa) passages in hundreds cited as illustrations. A very large majority of them is corrupt, some less corrupt, some others more corrupt and some others still, hopelessly corrupt. In the course of my studies[1] I have been able to restore a very large number of these corrupt passages. In this paper I present a score of obscure *gāthā*s, duly restored. These *gāthā*s are obscure on account of corrupt readings, gaps either at the beginning or in the middle or at the end or wrong presentation in total disregard of the *gāthā* metre.

(1) *Kālato yathā—*

Kālaati suoravaheri.....(Vol. IV, p. 891)

The text of this verse is, no doubt, quite corrupt. The opening words " *Kālaati suoravaheri-diṇṇa* " make no sense. The rest of the passage nearly agrees with the text of the *GS.* I-64. The text needs to be re-written leaving out the non-sensical opening words :

उअरि दर-दिट्ठ-रवण्णुअ-णिणलीए (? णिलुक्क) पारावआणं विरुएहिं ।
णिल्लणइ जाअविअणं सुलाएणं (? सूलाहिण्णं) व देवउलं ॥
[उपरीषद्-दृष्ट-स्थाणु-निलीन-पारावतानां विरुतैः ।
निस्वनति जातवेदनं शूलाभिन्नमिव देवकुलम् ॥]

(2) *Saṅketa-bahumāno..... yathā vā—*

Gāmaṁ suṇa-ṇialia (?).....(Vol. IV, p. 898)

This verse, at first sight, appears to be a despair of researchers. On closer scrutiny, however, we are able to decipher some words which help us to identify the verse with *GS.* VI-56. The context of " *Saṅketa-bahumāna* " leaves absolutely no doubt about this identification.

गामंगण-णिअलिअ-कण्ह-वक्ख-पडु (? वड) तुत्थ(? तुज्झ)दूरमणिइग्गो (? दूरमणुलग्गो)।
णत्तेल्लपसिक्खिर (? तत्तिल-पडिक्खर-)होइओ(? भोइओ) वि गामो सुहं वसई ॥
[ग्रामाङ्गण-निगडित-कृष्णपक्ष वट तव दूरमनुलग्नः ।
तत्पर-प्रतिखर(-निर्दय)-भोगिको(-ग्रामाधिपतिः, ग्रामनायको)ऽपि ग्रामः सुखं वसति ॥]

1. *Paḍikkhaka* (Sk-*pratīkṣaka*)—*GS.* VI. 56
2. *Na uvviggo* (Sk-*na udvignaḥ*)—*GS.* II. 56

(3) *Sakhī—saṁpraśno yathā.....yathā vā—*

Aṇṇaṁ jambu (?).....(Vol. IV, p. 901)

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This verse, as it stands, is quite corrupt. On closer scrutiny it is found to be the same as *Līlāvaī* No. 499.

अण्णं तं णूमिज्जइ एअं पुण सुअणु वम्महु-रहस्सं ।
साहिज्जंतं (पा. भे. पअडिज्जंतं) ण तहा गुप्पंतं जह फुडी-होइ ॥

[अन्यत्तत् प्रच्छन्नं क्रियते (गुप्यते) (यद्) एतत् पुनः सुतनु मन्मथरहस्यम् ।
कथ्यमानं (प्रकटीक्रियमाणं) न तथा गुप्यमानं स्फुटीभवति यथा] ॥

(4) *Sā bhāryā-dūtī Yathā—*

..... *pucchanti*..... (Vol. IV, p. 920)

The first quarter of this *gāthā*, as printed here, is shown to be lost. The rest of the *gāthā*, however, helps, us to identify it with *GS.* VII. 77. The *gāthā* runs as follows :—

(अइ उज्जुए ण लज्जसि) पुच्छंती मह चिअस्स (? पिअस्स)चरिआइं ।
सव्वंग-सुरहिणो मरुवअस्स किं कुसुम-रिद्धीए ॥

[अयि ऋजुके न लज्जसे पृच्छन्ती मम प्रियस्य चरितानि ।
सर्वाङ्ग-सुरभेर्मरुवकस्य किं कुसुमर्द्धया ॥]

1. पुच्छिज्जंती पिअस्स *GS.* VII. 77
2. रिद्धीहि *GS.* VII. 77

(5) *Lajjā-Praṇāśaḥ yathā—*

.....*Sesa jjuāṇo* (?) .....(Vol. IV, p. 931)

This verse shows gaps at the opening and in the third quarter. In spite of these gaps the available portion of the *gāthā* helps us to identify it with *GS.* 1.57 (and *VL* No. 425)

(अगणिअ)-सेस-ज्जुआणो (? जुआणा) बालअ बोळीण (? वोलीण)-लोअ माजाआ(? मज्जाआ) ।
अह ए भरि.....(? अह सा भमइ) (दिसामुह-) वि(? प-) सारिअच्छी तुह कएण ॥

[अगणित-शेष-युवा बालक अतिक्रान्तलोकमर्यादा ।
अथ सा भ्रमति दिशामुख-प्रसारिताक्षी तव कृते ॥]

(6) *Dūta-pratibhedo yathā—*

Jaṁ tuha kajjaṁ.....(Vol. IV, p. 952)

The text of this *gāthā* is corrupt. A *somewhat* identical *gāthā* we have in *Vajjālaggaṁ* (No. 415) :

जं तुह कज्जं भण तं मह त्ति जं जाणिउं भणेज्जासु ।
ओ दूई सच्चवयणेण तं सि पारं गया अज्ज ॥

यत्तव कार्यं भण तन्ममेति यज्ज्ञातुं भणेः ।
हे दूति सत्यवचनेन त्वमसि पारं गताद्य ॥

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Prof. Patwardhan, the editor, observes in his Notes to this *gāthā* " The sense of the *gāthā* is obscure. Only a conjectural rendering has been attempted in the English Translation. "—(p. 490)

The *gāthā*, as presented by Weber in his *Sapta-Śatakaṁ* (No. 861), yields a happy sense and its text may be accepted as genuine and authentic without any reservation. With its help we may restore the present verse thus :

जं तुह कज्जं तं चेअ कज्जं मज्झ त्ति मं सआ भणसि ।
ओ दूइ सच्चवअणे अज्ज सि पारं गआ तस्स ॥
[यत्तव कार्यं तदेव कार्यं ममेति मां सदा भणसि ।
हे दूति सत्यवचने अद्यासि पारं गता तस्य ॥]

A comparison of this text with the corrupt passage would show that the second half (bringing the last letter "ओ" of the first half to open the second half) totally agrees. Through scribal error, a few letters (मां दाणि) occur in the first half which are altogether irrelevant and the word कज्जं preceding मज्झ is missing.

(7) *Cando vt canda-vaaṇe*.....(Vol. IV, p. 953)

Only this first quarter of the *gāthā* is available here. Again, what aspect or facet of a *dūta* is being illustrated here is not mentioned before citing the *gāthā*. From the enumeration of *dūta-saṁpreṣaṇa, sandeśadāna*, etc., given on p. 949 and from the two illustrations of *Pravṛttyapālaṁbhaḥ* before this *gāthā* (and the succeeding *gāthā*) and from the two illustrations of *suhṛt-sammantraṇaṁ* that follow, we easily infer that this *gāthā* and the succeeding *gāthā* form the two illustrations of *priya-sandeśaḥ*. The *gāthā* with this same opening quarter is included by Weber in his edition of *Sapta-śatakaṁ*. It suit admirably the context of " *Priya-sandeśaḥ.* "

चंदो वि चंदवअणे मुणालबाहालए मुणालाइं ।
इंदीवराइ इंदीवरच्छि तावेति तुह विरहे ॥
[चन्द्रोऽपि चन्द्र-वदने मृणालबाहालते मृणालानि ।
इन्दीवराणीन्दीवराक्षि तापयन्ति तव विरहे ॥]

(8) *Avajñā visūraṇaṁ yathā—*
..... *lā mae jīvidaṁ dharandīe* ...(Vol. IV, p. 993)

The verse is both incomplete and corrupt. The portion of the verse available here leads us, beyond any shadow of doubt, to identify it with the *gāthā* No. 930 in Weber's edition :

हंहो किं व ण दिट्ठं हला मए जीविअं धरंतीए ।
सो मं अणुणेइ पिओ अहं पि अणुणिज्जिमि हआसा ॥
[हंहो किंवा दृष्टं हला मया जीवितं धरन्त्या ।
स मामनुनयति प्रियोऽहमप्यनुनीये हताशा ॥]

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1. जीविदं धरंदीए — SP. p. 993
2. अमवमणेइ रिओ — SP. p. 993

(9) *Āhāryānurāga-janmā āhāryo yathā—*

Aliakuṇaṁpi.....(Vol. IV, p. 997)

It is extraordinary that Bhoja should give only the *Pratīka* of the *gāthā* which he intended as an illustration. If the verse had occurred earlier in some other context we could have followed it here. Be that as it may, the *gāthā* which Bhoja had in mind must be the following one :

अलिअकुणअं पि (? अलिअकुविअं पि)कअमंतुअं च मं जेसु सुहज अणुणंतो ।
ताण दिअहाण हरणे रुआमि, ण उणो अहं कुविआ ॥
[अलीक-कुपितामपि कृतमन्तुकां च मां येषु सुभग अनुनयन् ।
तेषां दिवसानां स्मरणे रोदिमि न पुनरहं कुपिता ॥]

This *gāthā*, with a few variant readings is found to be quoted in a later *Kośa* (*Gāhārayaṇakosa v.* 480).

अलियकुवियं पि कयमंतुओ व्व मं सुहय जेसु अणुणिंतो ।
ताण दियहाण सरई रुयामि, न उणो अहं कुविया ॥

The reading "*Kaya-mantuo vva*" is highly poetic.

(10) *Vicchidyamāna—santāpo viṣamaḥ* (*mānaḥ*)। *Sa Yathā—*

Dhīreṇa māṇa-bhaṁge ..... (Vol. IV, p. 998)

The verse, as printed here, is incomplete and therefore not intelligible. It is, however cited earlier (p. 840) by Bhoja to illustrate "*Dhīra-madhyāyā vipralaṁbhe' nūbhāva-saṁpad*". It is also cited in *SK* (p. 727) to illustrate "*jātireva niṣedha-mukhena*". The verse may thus be restored :

धीरेण माणभंगो माणक्खलणेण गरुअ-धीरारंभो ।
उल्ललइ तुलिज्जंते एकम्मि वि से थिरं ण लग्गइ हिअअं ॥
[धैर्येण मानभङ्गो मानस्खलने गुरुक-धैर्यारम्भः ।
उल्लसति तोल्यमाने एकस्मिन्नप्यस्याः स्थिरं न लगति हृदयम् ॥]

(11) *Dāna—prakāreṣvatisandhānaṁ yathā*..... (yathā vā) —

..... *jana* ..... *ṇami tuhaṁ* ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1009)

This verse, as printed, shows some gaps, and is quite obscure. The printed, text, however, helps us to indentify this verse with "*Airā āṇemi*" etc. cited earlier (on p. 748) to illustrate "*mahāraṁbhatābhimānaḥ*". The verse belongs, as indicated by its reference to "*Svargadruma*", to Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* (now lost).

अइरा आणेमि तुज्झ अमआसअ-लोल-भमर लंघिअ-कुसुमं ।
तिअस-गअ-दाण-सीहर-तुसार-तण्णाअ-पल्लवं-सग्ग-दुमं ॥

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[अचिरादानयामि तव (कृते) अमृतास्वाद-लोल-भ्रमर-लङ्घित-कुसुमम् ।
त्रिदश-गज-दान-शीकर-तुषारार्द्र-पल्लवं स्वर्गदुमम् (=पारिजातम्) ॥]

(12) *Mānopalakṣaṇāni ..... teṣu vikṛta—vīkṣaṇaṁ yathā—*
Davanteṇe (? ṇa) tuha muhaṁ ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1026)

Only the first quarter of the intended *gāthā* is seen here. The rest of the *gāthā* is obviously not to be found in the MS. From the context one may justifiably infer that the intended *gāthā* must be the same as included by Weber in his edition of *Saptaśatakaṁ* (No. 920).

दावंतेण तुह मुहं भूमआभंगम्मि होंतणवसोहं ।
अकएण उवकअं अज्ज मण्णुणा मज्झ पसि (? स) अच्छि ॥
[दर्शयता तव मुखं भ्रूभङ्गे भवन्नवशोधम् ।
अकृतेनोपकृतमद्य मन्युना मम प्रसृत्यक्षि (अथवा मृगाक्षि) ॥]

The " *bhrū-bhaṅga-darśana* ", mentioned in the *gāthā* very well suits the context of " *vikṛta-vīkṣaṇaṁ* ". Hence the identification.

(13) (*Mānopalakṣaṇāni ..... teṣu.....*) *Vilakṣa-smitaṁ yatha—*
Bāhollapuri ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1027)

The dots obviously indicate that the rest of the *gāthā* is lost in the MS.

This very *gāthā* is, however, further on (P. 1211) cited by Bhoja in full :

बाहौहपुरिअंगडाहाराए (?) भणिअं विलक्खहसिरीए ।
अज्ज वि किं रूसिज्जइ (?) सवहावत्थं गए पेम्मे ॥

In *Gāhārayaṇakośa* (*Gāthā* No. 450) this *gāthā* is presented as follows :

बाहुल्ल-फुरियगंडाहराए भणिअं विलक्खहसिरीए ।
अज्ज वि किं रूसिज्जइ सतहावत्थं मए पिम्मे (?) ॥

That the authors have drawn on *Gāthā-saptaśatī* (No. VI.18) for their illustration would be clear if we compare the text of these illustrations and the *gāthā* (No. VI. 18).

बाहोहभरिअ-(बाहुल्लफुरिअ—इति पाठान्तरम्) गंडाहराए भणिअं विलक्खहसिरीए ।
अज्ज वि किं रूसिज्जइ सवहावत्थं गअं पेम्मं ॥

The original text of the *gāthā* which was available to the authors of *Śṛṅgāra-Prakāśa* and *Gāhārayaṇakosa*, could now be restored by instituting a comparison of all these passages :

बाहुल्ल-फुरिअ-गंडाहराएँ भणिअं विलक्ख-हसिरीए ।
अज्ज वि किं रूसिज्जइ सवहावत्थं गए पेम्मे ॥
[बाष्पार्द्र-स्फुरित-गण्डाधरया भणितं विलक्षहसनशीलया ।
अद्यापि किं रुष्यते शपथावस्थां गते प्रेम्णि ॥]

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That this very *gāthā* is meant as an illustration of "*Vilakṣa-smita*" becomes crystal-clear if we take into consideration the significant phrase in the *gāthā*, viz. "*Vilakkha-hasirīe*". The same *gāthā* is cited to illustrate "*Kapoloṣṭha-spandanāni*" (p. 1211) as it contains another significant phrase "*Phuria-gaṇḍāharāe*".

(14) *Atha mānoddīpanāni ..... teṣu ..... dākṣiṇyoktir yathā—*
Avara .....
..... maṁime dūmehi dūmesi ehi (—Vol. IV, p. 1028)

This *gāthā*, as printed in the text, shows considerable gaps and whatever is presented is almost corrupt. That this passage is to be identified with the *GS* IV. 53 is beyond any shadow of doubt for two solid reasons. One, the context of "*dākṣiṇyoktiḥ*" and two, the corrupt text itself which retains significant signs for identification such as "*avara*"—the opening letters, "*mam*" "*ime .... hi*" "*dūmesi*" and "*ehi*".

अवराहेहिं वि ण तहा पत्तिअ जह मं इमेहिं दुम्मेसि ।
अवहत्थिअसब्भावेहिं सुहअ दक्खिण्णभणिएहिं ॥
[अपराधैरपि न तथा प्रतीहि यथा मामेभिर्दुर्नोषि ।
अपहस्तितसद्भावैः सुभग दाक्षिण्यभणितैः ॥]

(15) *Vāṅ—manaḥ—pravṛttijo miśro (māna-vilāso) yathā—*
Pabhavanti ceiae (?) ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1030)

Only these opening words of the *gāthā* are to be found here. The *gāthā*, intended here as an illustration seems to have been cited earlier (p. 624) by Bhoja. There the text is hopelessly corrupt. It is cited in *SK*, too (p. 607. v. 109) to illustrate "*Priyādiṣu*" *vyāja-nindotprāsaḥ*".

पहवंति च्चिअ पुरिसा, महिलाणं किं थ सुहअ विहिओ (? विलिओ)सि ।
अणुराअणोल्लिआए को दोसो आहिजाईए ॥
[प्रभवन्त्येव पुरुषा महिलानां किमत्र सुभग व्रीडितोऽसि ।
अनुराग-नोदितायाः को दोष अभिजात्याः ॥]

(16) *Atha mānotpatti—prakīrṇakāni / Tatra mānavatyāḥ*
Sva-hṛdaya-sakhī-priyatamādiṣu vaimanasyāt prakīrṇakāni /
Tatra Svahṛdaye śaṅkāyāṁ yathā—
Appapaccaddapahāvira (?) ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1034)

The text of the verse, as printed, is not only incomplete but also extremely corrupt. The two words "*pahāvira*" and "*dullaha-lambhaṁ*", however, provide a key to the original *Gāthā*, G.S. III-2, which runs as follows :

अप्पच्छंद-पहाविर दुल्लह-लंभं जणं वि मग्गंत ।
आआस-पहेहिं भमंत हिअअ कइआ वि भज्जिहिसि ॥

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[आत्मच्छन्द-प्रधावनशील दुर्लभ-लम्भं-जनमपि मृगयमाण ।
आकाश-पथैर्भ्रमद्-हृदय कदापि भङ्क्ष्यसे ॥]

(17) *Sa eva sakhyābhimukhya—viśeṣaniṣṭho (māna- vilāso) yathā—*
Vāharaü maṁ sahīe ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1030)

Only this first quarter of the intended *gāthā* is to be seen here. The rest of the *gāthā* is lost in the MS. This *gāthā* is, however, found in full at *SP* P. 773 as an instance of *Śāntā* (a type of *pratināyikā*). This *gāthā* occurs in *GS* II. 31. It very well suits the context given above.

वाहरउ मं सहीओ तिस्सा गोत्तेण किं थ भणिएण ।
थिरपेम्मा होउ जहिं तहिं पि मा किंपि णं भणह ॥
[व्याहरतु मां सख्यः तस्या गोत्रेण किमत्र भणितेन ।
स्थिरप्रेमा भवतु यत्र तत्रापि मा किमप्येनं भणत ॥]

(18) *Dhairyopādhiryathā—*
Bhaṇa sahio tammi ..... (Vol. IV, p 1037)

This much portion-not even one quarter-of the Prakrit verse is to be found here. That too is corrupt. So far I have not been able to find a Prakrit verse opening with the words " *Bhaṇa sahi* ".

It may not sound fantastic if one were to suggest, having regard to the context of " *Dhairyopādhi* " that the following *gāthā*, or some other one similar to it, may have been cited here as an illustration :

भणियं च मए पिय-सहि मा एवं भणसु किं ण-याणासि ।
जो जस्स हियय-दइओ मिलइ जियंती जियंतस्स ॥
[भणितं च मया प्रियसखि मा एवं भण किं न जानासि ।
यः यस्य हृदय-दयितः मिलति जीवन् जीवतः ॥]
—*Līlāvaī* v. no. 716

(19) *Atha māna-bhaṅga-kāraṇāni / Madastrāso* .. .. .. *Viviktamiti /*
Teṣu mado yathā .. .. ..
Kheppanti appaṇe ccia (7) .. .. .. (Vol. IV, p. 1038)

The verse, as printed, is slightly corrupt and metrically faulty. It is quoted further on (p. 1213) to illustrate " *śṛṅgāra-vṛddhiḥ* ". There too the text is corrupt. The verse is in the *Skandhaka* metre and probably drawn from the *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena (now lost). It may be restored as follows :—

घेप्पंति अप्पण च्चिअ कआवराहा वि कामिणीह पिअअमा ।
किं इअ सिक्खावंतो अवरज्झइ ओ पिअं करेइ महु-मओ ॥
[गृह्यन्ते आत्मनैव कृतापराधा अपि कामिनीभिः प्रियतमाः ।
किमिति शिक्षयन्नपराध्यति उत प्रियं करोति मधुमदः ॥]

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(20) (*Atha mānānubhāva—saukhyāni / Teṣu*) *vipakṣābhibhave yathā—*

.. .. *sadūmia* .. .. (Vol. IV, p. 1046)

The verse, as printed here, is incomplete and corrupt. Fortunately, it is further on (p. 1224) cited by Bhoja to illustrate "*rati-prakarṣodayaḥ śṛṅgāravṛddhiḥ*". Again, it is found in *SK* as an illustration of "*Kathā-vyāpinī nāyikā*". The verse is possibly drawn from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* :

तीए सविसेस-दूमिअ-सवत्ति-हिअआएँ णिव्वलंत सिणेहं ।
पिअ-गरुइआए णिमिअं सोहग्ग-गुणाण अग्गभूमीएँ पअं ॥
[तया सविशेष-दून-सपत्नी-हृदयया स्पष्टीभूत्-स्नेहम् ।
प्रिय-गुरुकृतया न्यस्तं सौभाग्य-गुणानाम् अग्रभूम्यां पदम् ॥]

(21) (*Atha mānānubhāva-saukhyāni / Teṣu*) *lābha-viśeṣo yathā—*

Dārā-ṭṭhavia—suradumaṁ .. .. (Vol. IV, p. 1047)

This verse is further on (p. 1221) cited by Bhoja to illustrate "*Sakhyādi-sampadaḥ parijana-pramodaḥ*". At both these places we find that the text of this verse is incomplete and somewhat corrupt. It is possibly drawn from *Harivijaya*. The text may thus be restored.

दार-ट्ठविअ-सुर-दुमं तं चिअ सग्ग-कुसुमोपहार-ग्घविअं ।
अण्णं च सच्चविज्जइ परिओस-परित्त-परिअणं तीएँ घरं ॥
[द्वार-स्थापित-सुरद्रुमं तदेव स्वर्गकुसुमोपहारार्घितम् ।
अन्यच्च दृश्यते परितोष-परीत-परिजनं तस्या गृहम् ॥]

Saṅgama-K

1. *Kusumopaāra* p. 1221.
2. *Gapiam* p. 1047.
3. *Pariogha-parinta* p. 1047.

(22) *Aucitya-bhedeṣu jātyaucityaṁ yathā—*

Pariaḍḍhiā ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1067)

The *gāthā* is incomplete and unintelligible. The text, as printed, reads :

परिअड्ढिआइ दोणि विंघरिणी ..... पवसिए पंते ।
णिअमो कुलाणुरूओ सिणेहसरिसंदोच्चमौ व्वल्लम् ॥

The first and the third quarters of this *gāthā* are perfectly all right. The second and the fourth present difficulties. *Tentatively* the *gāthā* may be restored as follows :

परिअड्ढिआइ दोण्णि वि घरिणी (ए) दइए) पवसिए पत्ते ।
णिअमो कुलाणुरूवो सिणेहसरिसं च दोब्बल्लं ॥
[प्रकटिते द्वेऽपि गृहिण्या दयिते प्रोषिते प्राप्ते ।
नियमः कुलानुरूपः स्नेहसदृशं च दौर्बल्यम् ॥]

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(23) *Śakti-bhedeṣu vaiśikī yathā—*

Raṇaraṇa arajjadovvala (?) ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1067)

The first half of this *gāthā* is extremely corrupt whereas the second half is almost correct. This very *gāthā* is found quoted in *Gāhā-rayaṇa-kosa* (No. 383):

रणरणयरुज्जदुच्चलएहिं (?) नच्च नडो व्व हयलोओ ।
विरहे मरणेण विणा सिणेहरेहा न निव्वडइ ॥

The text of the *gāthā* in *S'P* reads :

रणरण अरज्जदोव्वल...ए...अनिणंडंव अवलोओ ।
विरहे मरणेरा विणा सिणेहरेहा ण णिव्वउ (? ड) इ ॥

Now, the gāthā may be restored as follows :

रणरणअ-रुज्ज- दुब्बल्लएहिं णच्चइ णडो व्व हअलोओ ।
विरहे मरणेण विणा सिणेह-रेहा-ण णिव्वडइ ॥
[रण रणक-रोदन-दौर्बल्यैर्नृत्यति नट इव हतलोकः ।
विरहे मरणेन विना स्नेह-रेखा न स्पष्टीभवति ॥]

(24) *Yādṛcchiko yathā .. .. (yathā vā)—*

.... iuggaḷnibbharohi aṅgehiṁ ..... (Vol. IV, p. 1090)

The verse as printed, shows loss of the whole of the first part of the first half and one letter at the commencement of the latter part of the first half. The rest of the verse, as printed, is quite obscure, no doubt, but helps us to identify it as *GS* (W) 835 :

सिविणअ-लद्ध-पिअअम-पुलइउग्गम-णिमेरहि अंगेहिं ।
परिरंभणे सुहाइं पावउ मा णं पबोहेह ॥
[स्वप्न-लब्ध-प्रियतम-पुलकितोद्गम-निर्भरैरङ्गैः ।
परिरम्भणे-सुखानि प्राप्नोतु मैनां प्रबोधय ॥]

(25) *Raterati-prakarṣaḥ śṛṅgāra-vṛddhiḥ / yathā .. .. ..*

.. .. Cati appaṇa ccia (?) (Vol. IV, p. 1213)

The opening letters of the verse, as printed, are lost and the second half, as presented, is metrically faulty. This verse, however, is the same as "*Gheppanti appaṇa ccia*" etc., cited earlier (on p. 1038). Vide No. 18 *supra*.

(1) Vide the following papers :

(i) *The Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* : Prakrit Text Restored—
—Journal of Shivaji University, Kolhapur, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2, July, 1968.

(ii) *Ibid.* : Vol. IV, 1971.

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(iii) *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (*Chapters XV-XXIV*): Prakrit Text Restored—

—Journal of the University of Bombay, Sets No. Vol. XXXIX, No. 75, October, 1970.

(iv) *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (*Chapters XXV-XXX*): Prakrit Text Restored—

—Proceedings of the Seminar in Prakrit Studies, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 1973.

(v) *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (*Chapters XXXI-XXXVI*): Prakrit Text Restored—

—Sambodhi, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 & 4, 1975-76, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.

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MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN STUDIES XIV–XV[1]

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XIV[1]

Three Notes on the Uttarajjhayaṇa-sutta

1. *Introduction :*

1.1. The following notes on textual criticism, etymology, and interpretation are selected from those I have collected over the years while reading portions of the *Uttarajjhayaṇa-sutta* (= Utt.) with students. They mainly concern matters which Charpentier (= Ch.) has left unexplained, or explained wrongly, in the notes to his edition,[2] or Jacobi (= J.) has mistranslated in his rendering of Utt. into English,[3] or which are not treated satisfactorily in the Prakrit (= Pkt.) dictionaries.

1.2. Ch's edition, with its valuable notes, serves as a useful text-book for University courses in Ardha-Māgadhī (= AMg). Its faults include rather a large number of misprints (mostly corrected in the edition by Vadekar and Vaidya,[4] which is based upon Ch. but lacks his notes), and the omission of an index to the words discussed in the notes.

2. *Utt. XIX 63 :*

2.1. Ch. reads : *pāsehiṃ kūḍa-jālehiṃ mio vā avaso ahaṃ*
vāhio baddha-ruddho vā bahū c' eva vivāio.

None of the meanings or derivations (< Sanskrit (= Skt.) *vāhita, vyāhṛta,* or *vyādhita*) given for *vāhia* in the *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*[5] (= PSM) seems to fit this context, and it seems certain that *vāhio* here stands for *bāhio,* as Devendra's commentary (= *cty*) takes it. He glosses : *bādhitaḥ = pīḍitaḥ.*

2.2. J. translates ' caught ', although this meaning is not given for Skt. *bādhita* by Monier-Williams (= MW).[6] It may be that J. is translating from the context, but it is worthwhile pointing out that the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* (= PED)[7] draws attention (s. v. *bādhati*) to the fact that in Pāli

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1 See *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), Vol. XXV, Nos. 3-4, pp. 328-42.

2 Charpentier, Jarl : *The Uttarādhyayanasūtra,* Uppsala 1922.

3 Jacobi, Hermann: *Jaina Sūtras,* Part II (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV), Oxford 1895.

4 Vadekar, R. D. and Vaidya, N. V.: *Uttarādhyanasūtram,* Poona 1959.

5 Sheth, (Pandit) Hargovind Das T.: *Pāia sadda-mahaṇṇavo,* Calcutta 1928.

6 Monier-Williams, (Sir) Monier: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* Oxford 1899.

7 Rhys Davids, T. W. and Stede, William: *Pali-English Dictionary,* London 1925.

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there is a confusion between the roots *bādh-* and *bandh-*, particularly in the case of *bādheti*, where we find besides the meanings 'to oppress, afflict, hurt, injure' also 'to bind, catch, snare', e.g. *vānaraṃ viya lepena bādhayanti puthujjanaṃ* (*Theragāthā* 454)[8]: 'They trap an ordinary individual like a monkey with pitch'; *sākuntiko va sakuṇiṃ yathā bandhitum icchati, āharimena rūpena na maṃ tvaṃ bādhayissasi* (*Therīgāthā* 299): 'Just as a fowler wishes to snare a bird, you will not trap me by your charming shape.'

2.3. The Pāli *cty* tradition recognised this meaning for *bādhita*. So we find that the phrase *pajā parisappanti saso va bādhito* (*Dhammapada* 342-43) 'men run about like a hunted hare', where the usual meaning 'oppressed' for *bādhita* makes good sense, is explained by *cty* as *bādhito ti luddena araññe baddho* (Dhp-a IV 49, 21),[9] i e. 'trapped, snared.'

2.4. The same meaning for the root *bādh-* is to be seen in Pāli *bādhin* 'trapping, snaring', in the compound *gaddha-bādhin*. It is debatable whether this means 'trapping vultures' or 'trapping by means of vultures.' If the latter, then it is doubtless a reference to the Indian custom, mentioned by the Greek author Ktesias, of hunting by means of vultures.[10] PED's rendering 'trainer' results from the adoption of the suggestion made by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg,[11] but rejected by them in favour of the literal 'vulture tormentor.'

2.5. It is clear that 'trapped, snared' is precisely the meaning of *vāhio* in Utt. XIX.63, and this conclusion is supported by the fact that Ch. records[12] from Sāntisūri's *cty* the v.l. *gāhio* 'seized', which is doubtless a very old gloss which had somehow found its way into the text.

3. *Utt. XXIII.89*:

3.1. Ch. reads: *tosiyâ parisâ savvâ sammaggaṃ samuvaṭṭhiyâ*
saṃthuyā te pasīyaṃtu bhagavaṃ Kesi-Goyame.

He states: 'The grammar of the last line is totally corrupt.'[13] J. seems to take *saṃthuyā* as an active formation (perhaps as an absolutive, or as a past participle used actively), and translates:[14] 'They praised Keśi and Gautama: "May

8 Pāli references are to the Pali Text Society's editions.

9 Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are those listed in the Epilegomena to Vol. I of the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen 1924-48.

10 It is, of course, possible that Ktesias's statement, which does not seem to be substantiated by any other source, was based upon a misunderstanding of some such word as *gaddha-bādhin*.

11 Rhys Davids, T. W. and Oldenberg, Hermann: *Vinaya Texts* II (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XVII), Oxford 1882, p. 377 n. 1.

12 Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 351.

13 Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 364.

14 J., *op. cit.*, p. 129.

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the venerable ones show us favour" ', but as Ch. says, *saṃthuyā* can hardly be anything other than the equivalent of Skt. *saṃstutāḥ* and must be in agreement with *Kesi-Goyame*, as Ghatage takes it. He translates :[15] 'Let the venerable Kesi and Goyama, praised, show you favour.'

3.2. Ch. confesses that he is unable to find a clue which would clear up the whole of the corruption.[16] I do not, however, think that the grammar is as corrupt as he suggests, and, morever, the clue which he was seeking occurs in 'Devendra's *cty*, where the Skt. equivalent is given as : *saṃstutau tau prasīdatām bhagavat-Keśi-Gautamāv iti sūtrārthaḥ*. It is clear that if we can take *Kesi-Goyame* as a dual from, then the mystery whereby it has a plural adjective, pronoun, and verb in agreement with it is solved. Since we can parallel the use of the singular from *bhagavaṃ* as a plural elsewhere,[17] or else take it as a compound with *Kesi-Goyame*, as the *cty* does, this does not present any difficulty either. If *Kesi-Goyame* is a dual form, then we must suppose that the expected **Kesi-Goyamo* (with Pkt. *-o* < Skt. *-au*) was taken to be a nominative singular form, and consequently the supposed nominative ending *-o* was replaced by *-e*, as commonly in AMg.

3.3. Although Leumann in 1883 suggested[18] that AMg *āṇāpānū* was to be derived from Skt. *ānāpānau*, and J. in 1895 pointed out that in the *cty* on Utt. XIII. 18 *duhao* was taken as the equivalent of the Skt dual from *dvayoḥ*, and also stated unequivocally that *māṇāvamāṇao* (Utt. XIX. 90) was a genitive of the dual,[19] nevertheless writing in 1900 Pischel stated[20] that the only dual forms found in Pkt. are the words *do*, *be*, and *duve* 'two'. The same statement was made for Middle Indo-Aryan as a whole in 1953 by Sen,[21] although he could have added Pāli *ubho* which has long been recognised as a dual form.[22]

3.4. Ch., however, states[23] categorically his belief that traces of the dual are undeniably met with in the middle Indian dialects, and suggests,[24] in opposi-

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15 Ghatage, A. M.: *Introduction to Ardha-Māgadhī*, Kolhapur 1951, §430.

16 Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 364.

17 Pischel, R.: *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, §396.

18 Leumann, E.: *Das Aupapātika Sūtra*, Leipzig 1883, Index s.v. *āṇāpāṇū*. Although Skt *-au* usually becomes Pkt *-o*, it sometimes become *-ū*, cf. *bhikkhū* (Utt. XI.15) <Skt *bhikṣau*.

19 J., *op. cit.*, p. 65 n. 2. Here 'genitive' is presumably a slip for 'locative', since the other forms in the verse are locatives.

20 Pischel, *op. cit.*, §360.

21 Sen, S.: *Historical Syntax of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Calcutta 1953, §3.

22 Childers, R. C.: *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, London 1875, states (s.v. *ubho*) : '(It) is almost the only remains of a dual form in Pali.'

23 Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 364.

24 Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 348.

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tion to Pischel,[25] that *ammo* (Utt. XIX. 10) is to be derived from **ammau*, pointing out that the singular form in Utt. XIX. 11 is *amma*. He also states that *Kesī-Goyamao* in Utt. XXIII. 88 is certainly identical with Skt. *Keśi-Gautamayoḥ*.[26]

3 5. We may also suggest that *ubhao*, where it occurs in combination with genitive plural forms at Utt. XXIII. 10 is a dual form (= Skt. *ubhayoḥ*). The same word in Utt. XXIII. 9 must, however, have a different explanation, since there is no possibility of taking it as a genitive there. It would be possible to take it as the masculine nominative dual of *ubhaya-*, i e. **ubhayau*. The form is reminiscent of Pāli *ubhayo* (*Petavatthu* II. 3.10 ; glossed *duve* at Pv-a 86, 18), which PED takes[27] as a feminine plural of *ubho*, although it is difficult to see how a feminine plural form in *-ayo* could develop from *ubha-*. It seems more likely that, just as Pāli *ubho* is used for both masculine and feminine, so too is *ubhayo*. We also find the phrase *Todeyya-Kappā dubhayo* in Pāli at *Sutta-nipāta* 1007 and 1125, where the *cty* glosses *dubhayo* as *ubho* (Pj II 583, 14).

3.6. One edition of Utt.[28] reads *tehiṃ ārāhiyā duve logu, tti bemi* (Utt. VIII. 20) : 'By them both worlds are gained. Thus I say', where the other editions read *duve loga, tti bemi*. If this reading is genuine, then *-u* must stand for *-ū* (cf. *āṇāpāṇū* above (§ 3.3)) or for *-ō* < *-o* < *-au*, i.e. a dual form.

3.7. Although some of these examples are more certain than others, it seems clear that there is evidence that remnants of the dual are more common in Pāli and AMg than some modern grammarians believe, and I have no hesitation in claiming that in Utt. XXIII. 89 *Kesi-Goyame* is based upon a misunderstood dual form **Kesi-Goyamo* < Skt. *Keśi-Gautamau*.

4. *Utt. XXIV.* 8.

4.1. Ch. reads : *indiyatthe vivajjittā sajjhāyaṃ c' eva paṃcahā*
tammuttī tappurakkāre uvautte riyaṃ rie.

In the first line *sajjhāyaṃ* causes difficulty because it lacks a verb. The *cty* wishes to supply *kuryāt* 'he should carry out his studies', and reference to such passages as *sajjhāyaṃ karettae* (*Kappasutta* 1.19, 3.1-2, 22)[29] shows that this is the normal construction with this word.

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25 Pischel, *op. cit.*, §366b, derives from *amma* + *u*. Against Ch's suggestion is the fact that *ammo* is sometimes used for the vocative singular.

26 Ch., *op. cit.*, p. 364.

27 PED, s.vv. *ubhaya* and *ubho*.

28 *Uttarādhyayanāni śrīmān-Nemicandrācāryaviracitasukhabodhānāmnyā vṛttyā samalaṅkṛtāni*, Valad 1937.

29 Schubring, W.: *Das Kalpa-sūtra*, Leipzig 1905, pp. 19, 24, and 26.

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4.2. Devendra glosses: *tammuttī, tasyām eva īryāyām mūrttiḥ arthād vyāpriyamāṇā yasyāsau tanmūrttiḥ* and *tappurakkāre, tām (īryām) eva puraskaroti tatrevopayuktayā prādhānyenāṅgīkurute tatpuraskāraḥ.* J. translates :[30] '[He] pays attention only to his walk and his body (executing it)', but this is not entirely satisfactory.

4.3. J. seems not to have noticed when he was translating this verse that he had already translated something very similar to it at *Āyāraṃga* I. 5.4.2[31] (repeated at I. 5.6.1), where we find : *tammottīe tappurakkāre....gacchijjā.* The antecedent to *tam-* and *tap-* is found in the previous line: *eyaṃ kusalassa daṃsaṇaṃ,* where *kusalassa* refers to Mahāvīra. J. translates:[32] 'That is the doctrine of the clever one (Mahāvīra). Imitating his indifference[33] (for the outer world), making him the guide and adviser (in all one's matters)..... one should go (on one's business) '

4.4. It is clear from the fact that there is no verb to go with *sajjhāyaṃ* in pāda b and no antecedent to *tam-* and *tap-* in pāda c, that these pādas were taken by the compiler of the verse from some other source where they were grammatically and syntactically correct (perhaps in the case of pāda c from the *Āyāraṃga* passage referred to), and strung together with other pādas without regard for the fact that it was impossible to construe the result.[34]

4.5. We must therefore take account of this when we translate the verse. The two padas mean : 'He should perform his studies, having his (= Mahāvīra's) appearance (i e. imitating him) and placing him (= Mahāvīra) in front (i.e. taking him as a leader).'

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30 J., *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.

31 Jacobi, Hermann: *The Āyāraṃga Sutta,* London 1882, p. 24.

32 Jacobi, Hermann: *Jaina Sūtras,* Part I (Scared Books of the East, Vol. XXII), Oxford 1884, p. 47.

33 Jacobi is here following the *Āyāraṃga Ṭīkā,* which glosses *tammottīe* as *tam-mukti.* W. Schubring, *Wrote Mahāvīras,* Göttingen 1926, p. 94, translates : 'In ihm die Befreiung suchend.'

34 Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. xlvii, has drawn attention to the fact that in *Āyāraṃga* 'we meet with fragments only of sentences, or with sentences which it is impossible to construe.' We find the same state of affairs very frequently in verse texts because of the ease with which an author could compose works by borrowing and stringing together pādas from what John Brough, *Gāndhārī Dharmapada,* London 1962, p. xvii, calls 'the treasure-house of versified tags.'

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XV[1]

Nine Pāli Etymologies

1. *mukha*
2. *vaṇibbaka*
3. *dirasaññu*
4. *onītapattapāṇi*
5. *pattakkhandha*
6. *pannā*
7. *unna*
8. *poṇa*
9. *ninna*

By no means the least important part of the task of preparing a second edition of the Pāli Text Society's *Pāli-English Dictionary* (= PED), in which I am at present engaged, is the correction of the large number of incorrect or misleading etymologies of Pāli words included in that Dictionary. A small selection of these is offerred here.

1. *mukha*

This word is found in the pāda *cittehi vaṇṇehi mukhaṃ nayanti* which occurs three times in the *Bhūridatta-jātaka* at Ja VI 211, 8*, 22*, 26*.[2] The commentary (= *cty*) explains (215, 9*) : *mukhaṃ pasārenti* with a v.l. *pasādhenti*. In his translation of this text, Professor Alsdorf mentions[3] a reading *pasādenti* in the Burmese and Siamese editions. Cowell translates[4] the pāda: '(The Brahmins) let their choicest rhetoric flow'. Alsdorf translates: 'reissen die Toren den Mund weit auf mit herrlichen Verheissungen', but he states[5] that the *pāda* is not clear to him. He has translated the reading *pasārenti*, but is doubtful about the correctness of his interpretation.

PED gives only the etymology from Sanskrit (= Skt) *mukha*, and does not list this passage or any other for the combination with the root *nī*–. The phrase *mukhaṃ nī*– does not seem to occur in Skt. The meaning 'open the mouth (with utterances)' would seem to be a strange development for the root *nī*–, and we may conclude that this is unlikely to be the correct meaning of the phrase.

As stated above, the phrase occurs with the words *cittehi vaṇṇehi*, to form a *Triṣṭubh pāda*, where the first syllable of *mukhaṃ* is the final one of the break in the *pāda* (i.e. syllables 5-7), which here has the form of a dactyl (– ⏑ ⏑). The analyses of metre which I made in the introductions to my translations of Th and Thī[6] have shown that lengthening and shortening of vowels *metri causa* (=

1 See *JOI* (*Baroda*), Vol. XXVII, 3-4, March-June, 1978, p. 78.

2 The abbreviations of Pāli and BHS texts are those adopted in the Epilegomena to *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Copenhagen 1924-48.

3 Alsdorf, L., 'Das Bhūridatta-jātaka : Ein anti-brahmanischer Nāga-Roman', *WZKS* Vol. XXI, 1977, p. 52 n. 67.

4 Cowell, E. B., *The Jātaka*, Vol. VI Cambridge 1895, p. 110.

5 Alsdorf, L., *op. cit.*, p. 52.

6 Norman, K. R., *Elders' Verses*, Vol. I, London 1969, pp. XXXV-XXVIII, Vol. II London 1971, p. xl.

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m.c.) is not uncommon in Pāli verse, and examples can be given from Th of such changes being made at this point in the pāda, e.g. *samayo mahāvīra bhagī* (= *bhāgī*) *rasānaṃ* (527d); *kandanti naṃ ñāti* (= *ñātī*) *pakiriya kese* (779a); *yathā vimutto ahu* (= *ahū*) *taṃ suṇoma* (1274d); *cando yathā dosinapuṇṇamāsiyā* (= *dosinā-*) (1119c). If, therefore, we assume that the form which we have is the result of normalisation, to give the standard dactyl form, then we have the chance of surmising that the earlier and original form of the break might have been something other than a dactyl.

Acting upon this assumption, at the last meeting I had with Professor Alsdorf, some months before his untimely death in March 1978, I suggested to him that the original form of the phrase was *mukkhaṃ nayanti*, where *mukkhaṃ* was to be derived from Skt. *mūrkha*. I was delighted that he accepted this suggestion unreservedly. The correct translation is, therefore, 'they lead the fool along'. The second edition of PED will therefore have an entry: *mukha*[2] *-m.c.* for *mukkha*.

2. *vaṇibbaka*:

PED gives the etymology *vaṇibba* + *ka*, and states that according to Geiger the form *vaṇibba* is distorted from *vaṇiya*. Thus the meaning would be 'travelling merchant, wayfarer'. PED's statement is misleading, for Geiger in fact states no more than: '*vaṇibbaka* "bettelnd/begging" = *vaṇīyaka*',[7] and the word is quoted as another example of *-bb-* appearing in place of *-vv-*, besides *pubba* 'pus' < **puvva* < **pūva* < Skt. *pūya*. We must therefore assume the development of *vaṇīyaka* > **vaṇīvaka* > **vaṇivvaka* > *vaṇibbaka*. Besides the form *vanīyaka* Buddhist Hybrid Skt. (= BHS) also has *vaṇipaka* and *vanīpaka*, which must have arisen from a hyper-form, where *-v-* was taken to be a derivation from *-p-*, which was therefore wrongly 'restored'. To the examples of such hyper-forms given for Pāli by Geiger[8] and Lüders[9] we can add *khajjopanaka*, although Charpentier rejected the idea.[10] We also find Jaina Skt. *niropa* < Skt. *niroca* via Prakrit (= Pkt.) *nirova*[11] From BHS we can quote *pīthī* < *vīthī* and *prajāpatī* < *prajāvatī*.[12]

The from *vanīpaka* also occurs in Pāli at Cp 36 (= I. 4. 9), although PED states that the reading is spurious. It is glossed as *yācaka* at Cp-a 44, 20, although the *cty* has *vaṇibbaka* in the lemma. Professor Jayawickrama reads

7 Geiger, W., *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, Strassburg 1916 §46.1.

8 *Ibid.*, §39.6.

9 Lüders, H., *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des Buddhistischen Urkanons*, Berlin 1954, §§144-47.

10 Charpentier, J., 'Some Sanskrit and Pali Notes', *IL* Vol. II, 1932, p. 62 n. 3: 'Such a development seems to me too improbable to be taken into serious consideration'. This remark was made at a time when little was known about such hyper-forms.

11 Norman, K. R., 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies V', *JOI* (*Baroda*), Vol. XV, 2, p. 115.

12 Edgerton, F., *BHS Grammar*, New Haven 1953, §2.30.

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vaṇibbaka at this point in his new edition of Cp,[13] although it is arguable that *vanīpaka* should be retained as the *lectio difficilior*. The strange gloss *vaṇibbakā ti vaṇīdīpakā* at Pv-a 120, 27 (also rejected by PED as spurious) may hide the word *vaṇīpaka*. From the intermediate from **vaṇīvaka* the Pkt. forms *vaṇimaga* and *vaṇīmaya* have evolved by the development of *-v-* > *-m-*,[14] which often occurs, as here, in the presence of a nasal.[15]

The spelling in Pāli and BHS alternates between *vaṇ-* and *van-*, and this supports the view that we have here an example of the spontaneous retroflexion of *-n-* > *-ṇ-*, which occurs also in the related word *vaṇij-*.[16] We can therefore see that all the forms in Pāli, Pkt. and BHS can be derived from Skt. *vanīyaka* ' mendicant, beggar ', which is derivable from the verb *vanīyati* ' to beg, ask alms ', which is in turn derived from the root *van-* ' to wish, desire '.[17] The various forms we have been discussing depend upon a version of *vanīyaka* where the Eastern glide consonant *-v-* has replaced the original *-y-*,[18] with the subsequent changes of *-v-* > *-p-*, or *-v-* > *-m-*, or *-īv-* > *ivv-* > *-ibb-*.

3. *dirasaññu* :

This word occurs four times in the *Bhūridatta-jātaka*, at Ja VI 205, 12*; 207, 8*; 213, 14*, 214, 20*. Kern, relying on the apparent, juxta-position of the word with *appapanna* in the last of these references, assumed that the two words had similar meanings, and proposed an etymology[19] from *dira* (= Skt. *dara*) and *saññā*, ' of little wisdom '. He noted, but dismissed, the fact that the *cty* takes the word in all four references to be a vocative, and etymologises it as : *dvīhi jivhāhi rasajānanasamattha* (209, 14'–15'), ' o one capable of knowing flavours by means of two tongues '. PED accepts Kern's explanation, although querying the etymology from Skt. *dara-saṃjña*. It gives the meaning ' one who has little commonsense ', and specifically states that the *cty*'s explanation is wrong. It adds that the word is used of fire (*agni*), and points out that the *cty* glosses the word as *nippaññā* at 217, 15'. Mme Caillat considers the word in her discussion of the development of stems in *-u* in Pāli.[20] She states that in two references it refers to a human being, in which case the gloss *nippaññā* would seem to confirm Kern's suggestion. In the other two references, however, the word seems to refer to

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13 Jayawickrama, N. A., *Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyāpiṭaka*, London 1974.

14 Pischel, R., *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strassburg 1900, §261.

15 Brough, J., *Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962, §36.

16 Mayrhofer, M., *Kurzegefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Vol. III, Heidelberg 1976, p. 131.

17 Monier-Williams, (Sir) Monier., *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (= *MW*), Oxford 1899, s.vv. *van*, *vaniya*.

18 Geiger, W., *op. cit.*, §46.

19 Kern, H., ' Toevoegselen I ', *VKAWA*, Vol. 16, 4, 1916, p. 118.

20 Caillat, C., *Pour une nouvelle grammaire du pāli*, Torino, 1970, p. 15.

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fire, in which case some such translation as ' dénué de conscience ' would seem to be indicated.

In a private communication to me, Professor von Hinüber points out that the *cty* is not in fact equating *dirasañña* and *nippañña* at Ja VI 217, 15', and he draws my attention to the fact that in his translation of the *Bhūridatta-jātaka* Professor Alsdorf translates[21] the word on each occasion as a vocative referring to a snake, ' o Doppelzüngler '. A close examination of the text shows that *nippañña* is a gloss upon *appapañña* in the text at 214, 20*. It also shows that Alsdorf is correct to follow the *cty* and to take *dirasañña* on each occasion as a vocative, referring to the *nāga* the Bodhisatta was addressing.

All that remains is to decide whether the *cty* is correct in stating that *dirasañña* has the meaning quoted above. It is to be noted in the first place that this explanation is not an invention of the *cty*. It is found much earlier in the Pāli tradition, but in a slightly different spelling. We find in the Niddesa in a list of epithets of snakes and synonyms of the word ' snake ', the statement : *dvīhi jivhāhi rasaṃ sāyatī ti dvirasañña* (Nidd I 8, 5–6), with the v.l. *dirasañña* quoted from the printed Siamese edition. Moreover, we find in Skt. the words *dvijihva* ' double-tongued = snake ' and *dvirasana* ' id. '. Since the word *rasajña* occurs in Skt. with the meaning ' knowing tastes = tongue ',[22] there seems to be no reason to doubt that **dvi-rasajña* would also mean ' double-tongued = snake '.

It follows, therefore, that we can accept *dvirasajña* as the etymology for Pāli *di-* and *dvi-rasañña*

4. *onītapattapāṇi :*

This word occurs most commonly in the stock phrase *Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāviṃ onītapattapāṇiṃ* although it occurs occasionally in other contexts. The *cties* explain : *onītapattapāṇin ti pattato onītapāṇiṃ, apanītahatthan ti vuttaṃ hoti* (Sp 200, 16-17 = Sv 277, 17-18 = Ps II 283, 10-11 = Pj II 456, 13-14). Such an explanation supports the statement in PED that *onīta* in form is equal to *avanīta*, but semantically is the equivalent of *apanīta*. The latter is the spelling found in BHS, e.g. *bhagavāṃ bhuktāvī dhautahasto apanītapātro* (Mvu III 142, 4). The explanation given in the Pāli *cties*, however, is unlikely, since it involves taking the elements of the compound in an irregular way. This undoubtedly accounts for the appearance of the v.ll. which are recorded by other *cties* : *oṇittapattapāṇin ti pi pāṭho. tass' attho oṇittaṃ nānābhūtaṃ vinābūtaṃ pattaṃ pāṇito assā ti oṇittapattapāṇī. tam onītapattapāṇiṃ hatthe ca pattañ ca dhovitvā ekamante nikkhipitvā nisinnan ti attho* (Sv 277, 18-22). The *ṭikā* explains : *oṇittan ti vā, āmisāpanayanena sucikataṃ* (Sv-pṭ I 405, 9-10). A second variant is : *ohitapat-*

21 Alsdorf, L., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

22 *MW*, s.vv. *dvi* and *rasa*.

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tapāṇin (*onitta-* in the Burmese and Siamese editions) *ti pi pāṭho tass' attho : ohitaṃ nānābhūtaṃ pattaṃ pāṇito assā ti ohitapattapāṇi. taṃ ohitapattapāṇiṃ. hatthe ca pattañ ca dhovitvā ekamante pattaṃ nikkhipitvā nisannan ti attho* (Ps II 283, 11-14). A third variant is : *dhotapattapāṇin ti pi pāṭho. dhotapattahatthan ti attho* (Ud-a 242, 27-28).

The form of the compound seems to demand that the past participle *onīta-* should be equally appropriate for both *patta* and *pāṇi*. Since two of the v. ll. mean ' washed ', I should wish to adopt a suggestion written by W.H.D. Rouse in the margin of his copy of Childers ' Dictionary (now in the library of Christ's College, Cambridge), that *onīta* is to be derived from Skt. *ava-nī* ' to put or bring into (water) '. [23] The compound would then mean ' having put hands and bowl into water, i.e. having washed them '. The v. ll. with *oṇitta-* (< Skt. *avanikta*) and *dhota-* (< Skt. *dhauta*) are, therefore, probably glosses upon *onīta-* which have entered into some versions of the text, but are now preserved for us only by the *cties*.

The version from Mvu III 142, 4 quoted above is interesting, because it shows an attempt made to overcome the difficulty of the structure of the compound by splitting it into two : *dhautahasto* and *apanītapātro*, ' with hands washed and bowl removed '. This also shows that the tradition knew that the compound included the idea of ' washing ', but did not understand that this idea was implied by the word *apanīta*, so that the gloss *dhauta* was brought into the text, but the word glossed by it (*apanīta*) was still retained. This lack of understanding is seen to an even greater extent in another version of the phrase which we find : *bhagavantaṃ dhotahattham onītapattapāṇiṃ* (Vin I 221, 20). Here the gloss with *dhota-* is introduced into the text, but the whole of the compound *onītapattapāṇiṃ* is retained.

5. *patta-kkhandha* :

It is clear from the contexts in which this compound occurs that it means ' downcast, dejected '. The *cties* explain : *pattakkhandhā ti patitakkhandhā khandhaṭṭhikaṃ nāmetvā nisinnā* (Sp 580, 30-31) ; *pattakkhandho ti patitakkhandho* (Ps II 104, 31-32 = Mp III 255, 13 ≠ V 63, 10 ≠ Ja V 19, 20') ; *pattakkhandho ti oṇatagīvo* (Sv 841, 37 = Mp II 302, 14). PED suggests that the word is not a contracted form of *patitakkhandha*, but from *patta* ' leaf ' + *khandha* ' leaf-shouldered ', and further suggests that this may be an old spelling for *panna* (= *pa* + *nam* ' bent down, put down '). For PED's obsession with *na* < *nam* see below.

There seems to be no reason to doubt that the idea of ' dejected ' could develop from ' with drooping shoulders ', and so I accept the *cties*' explanation that *patta* = *patita*, but I agree with PED that this is not a contraction from

23 *MW*, s.v. *ava-nī*.

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patita. I regard it as coming either from the root *pad-* ' to fall ' with the past participle suffix *-ta* added, whereas Skt. has the suffix *-na* (giving *panna*), or from the root *pat-* ' to fall ', with the past participle suffix added without the linking vowel *-i-*, i.e. an *aniṭ* formation.

6. *panna* :

PED seems to reject the suggestion that *panna* is the past participle of *pajjati* (< Skt. *padyate*), and states that the meaning points more to it being the past participle of *patati*, but asserts that in form it cannot belong to the root *pat-*. It suggests that a better explanation (in meaning and form) is to regard *panna* as the past participle of *pa* + *nam*. Following this suggestion, it is pointed out that the meaning could then be ' bent down, laid down ', as in *panna-ga* ' going bent ' = ' snake '.

The word *panna* occurs in Pāli in compounds with *-gandha, -ddhaja, -bhāra,* and *-loma*. The *cties* explain as follows : (a) *pannagandho ti thokaṃ duggandho* (Ja V 198, 22′–23′). (b) *pannaddhajo ti patitamānaddhajo* (Ps II 116, 7-8); *pannaddhajo .. ti mānaddhajañ ca .. pātetvā otaretvā ṭhito* (Mp III 264, 9-10); *cf. mahato mānaddhajassa pavāhanaṃ esī .. mahesī* (Nidd I 343, 15); *mahato mānaddhajassa pātanaṃ esi* (Nidd II (Nalanda edition) 82, 5-6). (c) *pannabhāro ti khandhabhārakilesabhāraabhisaṅkhārabhārapañcakāmaguṇabhārā pannā oropitā assā ti pannabhāro* (Ps II 116, 8-10); *pannabhāran ti ohitabhāraṃ khandhakilesaabhisaṅkhārakāmaguṇabhāre otaretvā ṭhitaṃ* (Ps III 438, 4-5); *pannabhāro ti oropitabhāro* (Mp II 259, 1-2); *pannabhāro ti..khandhābhisaṅkhārakilesabhārañ ca pātetvā otaretvā ṭhito* (Mp III 264, 9-10); *pannabhārā ti oropitakhandhakilesabhisaṅkhārabhārā* (Spk I 352, 12-13); *pannabhāran ti ohitakkhandhabhāraṃ* (Dhp-a IV 168, 8-10 = Pj II 467, 30); *pannabhāro ti patitabhāro* (v.l. *pātita-*) (Pj II 561, 23); *pannabhāro patitabhāro oropitabhāro* (Nidd I 334, 22-23); cf. *mahato bhārassa nikkhepanaṃ esī .. mahesī* (Nidd I 343, 17 = Nidd II (Nalanda edition) 82, 8-9). (d) *pannalomā ti patitalomā* (Ps III 167, 1); *pannalomo ti lomahaṃsuppādakassa chambhitattassa abhāvena anuggatalomo* (Ud-a 163, 15-17).

It seems clear that in all these compounds the meaning of *panna* is ' fallen, fallen down, gone ', and since these are the meanings of Skt. *panna* (past participle of *padyate*)[24] there is no reason for rejecting the etymology. The statement of the editor of PED (quoted above) that the meaning points to Pāli *panna* being the past participle of *patati* seems to indicate that he did not know that Skt. *pad-* has the meaning ' to fall '. We are now in a position to decide between the two meanings given in PED for *pannagandha*. The context, where the word

24 *MW*, s.v. *panna*.

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occurs in combination with *apūtiko*, ensures that the meaning is ' without smell ', cf. Skt. *pannarūpa* ' without colour '.

It is difficult to understand how PED could make the alternative suggestion, that *panna* could be the past participle of *pa* + *nam*, since if the development *na* > *nam* could occur,[25] the Skt. form would be **praṇa*, and the word for ' snake ' would be **praṇa-ga*. We should have to assume that Skt. *panna-ga* which is attested from the Epics onwards, is a borrowing from Pkt.

It is clear from the *cties* quoted above that there is no trace of the knowledge that *panna* is to be derived from the root *pad-*. Oldenberg, however, states[26] that the MS of Sp which was available to him read *pādenti* in the lemma of the gloss on *lomaṃ pātenti* at Vin II 5, 19, but there is no mention of this reading in the Pāli Text Society's edition of the *cty* (*Sp* 1157, 15). With this possible exception, the derivation from the root *pat-* not only occurs in the canon at Vin II 5, 19, but is also found in BHS: *prapātito mānadhvajo* (Lal (ed. Mitra) 448, 11). This may, however, be due to the same development of *t* > *d* and *d* > *t* which is found in Pāli *opapātika*[27] and other words.

7. *unna :*
8. *poṇa :*
9. *ninna :*

It is convenient to deal with these three words together because, as in the case of *panna*, PED tries to see them all as formations from the root *nam-*. It quotes the explanation of *unna* as the past participle of the root *ud-* ' to be wet ', which in the phrase *pīti-vegen* ' *unna* gives the acceptable meaning ' overflowing with joy ', but then suggests a derivation from *ud* + *na* where *na* is the (base-) form of *nam-*, giving a meaning ' bent up, i.e. raised, high '.

For *poṇa* PED gives an etymology *pa* + *ava* + *nam*, and compares Pāli *ninna* and Vedic *pravaṇa*. Like Charpentier,[28] I am ' totally at a loss to understand ' this etymology. Skt. *pravaṇa* shows that it cannot be correct, for the combination of *pra* + *ava* could only produce a form **prāvaṇa*, unless we are to assume that Skt. *pravaṇa* is a back-formation from Pāli *poṇa*.

For *ninna* PED quotes Vedic *nimna*, and derives it from *ni* ' down ' probably combined with *-na* of *nam*, thus meaning ' bent down '. The existence of Vedic *nimna* proves that this cannot be so, unless that we assume that this too is a back-formation from Pāli *ninna*

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25 The form *na* < *nam* is not quoted by *MW*.

26 Vin II., 309.

27 The BHS equivalent is *aupapāduka*. See Geiger, W., *op. cit.*, §§38.3, 39.4 and Lüders, *op. cit.*, §§94-98.

28 Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 53 n. 1.

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In fact, for all three words, as for *panna*, the suggested connection with the root *nam-* can be ignored. The accepted derivation of Pāli *unna* from Skt. *unna* (past participle of *ud-* 'to be wet') is perfectly satisfactory. Pāli *poṇa* is from Skt. *pravaṇa*, which is formed from the preposition *pra-* with the suffix *-vana*,[29] cf. *udvana* from *ud-* + *-vana*, 'steep, precipitous'. Pāli *ninna* is from Skt. *nimna*, which is formed from the preposition *ni-* with the suffix *-mn-a*, which is the weak grade of the suffix *-man* with the thematic vowel *-a*.[30]

29 Burrow, T., *The Sanskrit Language*, London, 1955, p. 151.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

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WAS THERE A PRE-GUPTA VIKRAMĀDITYA ?

By

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As is well known, according to Indian tradition the era of 58 B.C. was started by king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. But the existence of a king of this name has not been disclosed either by inscriptions or coins. The earliest 'Vikramāditya' whose historicity is supported by irrefutable evidence is the famous Candragupta II Vikramāditya, the son of emperor Samudragupta, and the conqueror of the Śakas of the west. Majority of scholars hold that Indian tradition about Vikramāditya really started after the demise of this Vikramāditya, the Gupta emperor; and 'Vikramāditya' of 58 B.C. is nothing but a myth. In support of their view they argue that in no inscription before the 9th century A.D. the era of 58 B.C. has been associated with his name.

According to such scholars the era was originally started by some Śaka or Parthian king in India and quite a few names have been proposed in this connection. But none has been able to explain satisfactorily why the era of 58 B.C. should be associated with Vikrama even at a later period and why the same era of 58 B.C. should be known in the 5th century A.D. as the era of the Mālavas,[1] the home state of 'Vikramāditya' of legends. Various theories have been proposed in this connection but nothing has been solved.

The well-known historian R. C. Majumdar has, in a note included in the 'Age of Imperial Unity',[2] tried to explain some of these riddles and in that connection he mainly utilised the evidence supplied by some Jaina texts. The evidence of Jaina literature regarding Vikramāditya was utilized decades ago and in this paper we will once more try to analyse the nature of this evidence and the information about Vikramāditya supplied by other sources to see whether Indian tradition really knew anything about a 'Vikramāditya' who flourished before the Gupta rule.

It is widely believed that among the early Indian writers the first to refer to Vikramāditya was Subandhu, the celebrated author of the *Vāsavadattā*.[3] The date of Subandhu is a matter of controversy; but since he has mentioned the Nyāya philosopher Uddyotakara,[4] he cannot possibly be placed earlier than the

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1 Cf. Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman (*C.I.I*, III, pp.81 ff.).

2 pp. 154 ff.

3 Gray, L. H. (Edited) p. 145.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

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5th century. We are ready to believe that Subandhu has possibly referred to Gupta Vikramāditya, who probably lived not long before. But even in this case we cannot afford to be dogmatic. This author, often refers to the *Bṛhatkathā*[5] and shows his intimate acquaintance with the stories told in that work. Now, according to the two Sanskrit versions of that work viz. those of Kṣemendra and Somadeva there was a king Vikramāditya of Pāṭaliputra who had as his enemy a certain Narasiṁha, king of Pratiṣṭhāna. A third Sanskrit version of that work viz. the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* of Budhasvāmin, a mutilated manuscript of which was discovered in Nepal, however, does not contain any story on this Vikramāditya. But we have to remember that only a portion containing 28 chapters of Budhasvāmin's work was discovered and probably Vikramāditya story also formed a part of the undiscovered portion of this work. A few scholars like Keith and Winternitz have supposed that the Kashmirian version of the *Bṛhatkathā* differed substantially from the Napalese version and in support of their theory they try to overemphasise the difference between the version of Budhasvāmin, on one hand, and those of Kṣemendra and Somadeva on the other. This amounts like saying that the Pāli *Daśaratha Jātaka* contains a new and different version of Rāma story and not that preserved in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ascribed to Vālmīki. But nothing can be farther from the truth. As a matter of fact, there is very little difference between the available portion of Budhasvāmin's work and that of Somadeva. Further, we should remember that Budhasvāmin's work is merely a *Śloka-saṅgraha* and not a faithful translation like that of Somadeva. We insist especially on the expression 'faithful' because of his following declaration.[6]

yathā mūlaṁ tathaivaitanna manāgapyatikramaḥ
granthavistarasaṁkṣepamātraṁ bhāṣā ca bhidyate

So there is no reason to suppose that Somadeva did consciously include in his translation something which did not form a part of the original. And since Vikramāditya story is also preserved by Kṣemendra in his *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, there is little doubt that the original *Bṛhatkathā* contained the legend of Vikramāditya of Pāṭaliputra. And once we accept this, our task becomes immeasurably less complicated.

And what now about the date of the original *Bṛhatkathā ?* According to the two translations, it was composed in the Śātavāhana court. Therefore we will be justified in assuming that the work was composed in the 2nd century A.D., at the latest. We should further remember that imitations of this work appeared from the days of the Guptas.[7] We should particularly refer here to the

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5 Pp. 156, 167, 180.

6 See ed. of Durgaprasad and Parab I. 1.10.

7 Durvinīta (6th cent.) the Western Ganga king is said to have translated the *Bṛhatkathā* into Sanskrit.

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Vasudevahiṇḍī of Saṅghadāsa and Dharamasena, a Jaina work, composed definitely before 500 A.D., which undoubtedly was inspired by the *Bṛhatkathā*.

There is no denying the fact that Vikramāditya appears almost as a legendary figure in the *Bṛhatkathā* stories. But we must remember that even that work was composed 300 years after the date of 'Vikramāditya' of 58 B.C. Further, this work represents the king of Pratiṣṭhāna, who was not a Śātavāhana, as Vikramāditya's rival. This is not surprising if we remember that the Śātavāhanas started reigning only from the closing years of the 1st century B.C.

But we will not rest satisfied with the evidence supplied by the *Bṛhatkathā* literature on the Vikramāditya problem. Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the 2nd quarter of the 7th century, in a fairly long passage refers to king Vikramāditya and describes his munificence. He is further described as a patron of learning. But the most important piece of information supplied by him is his description of Vikramāditya as a king of Śrāvastī This we consider to be immensely significant. We could easily have identified this Vikramāditya with the colabrated Gupta emperor had he not been styled 'King of Śrāvastī'. We invite in this connection the attention of readers to that passage of Fa-hien[8] describing Śrāvastī as a city 'in utter ruins' in which only 200 families resided. That Chinese pilgrim visited India during the time of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Should we suppose that the great Vikramāditya, described as 'a conqueror of India' by Yuan Chwang, was ruling over a 'Śrāvastī' which had a population of 200 families? Should we not be justified in supposing that 'Śrāvastī' of this Vikramāditya was a much more opulent city, which it really was, in pre-christian days—the great Śrāvastī described in Buddhist and Jaina texts? It is evident from Fa-hien's account that Śrāvastī's decline started long before his visit to that city, probably sometime in the 2nd century A.D. It is therefore almost sure that Yuan Chwang had a different and earlier 'Vikramāditya' in mind. Further, any one who has taken the trouble of going through that particular passage regarding Vikramāditya will be forced to admit that by the time the pilgrim wrote, Vikramāditya became a legendary figure. And if we remember the time-gap between Candragupta II and Yuan Chwang, we have to admit that it was too short to make that king a legendary figure. To Bāṇa,[9] a contemporary of Yuan Chwang, Chandragupta Vikramāditya was simply 'Candragupta', the destroyer of the Śakas. There is every possibility, therefore, that Yuan Chwang in this crucial passage has referred to a certain pre-Gupta Vikramāditya, who may or may not be identical with Vikramāditya of Guṇāḍhya. Guṇāḍhya's Vikramāditya, however, was a king of Pāṭaliputra, while Yuan Chwang's hero

8 Sea Legge's *Fa-hien*.

9 *Harṣacarita*, (Chowkhamba ed.) pp. 354-55.

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was both a king of Śrāvastī and also that of Ayodhyā.[10] But since he was a powerful monarch with an extensive kingdom, he could be described as king of all these places.

The Jaina sources, referred to by R. C. Majumdar, are however not very old. But they have some earlier tradition about Gardabhila who is represented in later Jaina texts as Vikramāditya's father. The earliest Jaina reference to this king will be found in the *Niśīthaviśeṣacūrnī*[11] of Jindāsagaṇi Mahattara who wrote in the 7th century A.D. He, however, does not refer to Vikramāditya, probably it was not necessary for him, as he was chiefly concerned with the adventures of Kālakācārya. The Purāṇas, as is well known, refer to 7 Gardabhila kings, who are represented as having ruled before Śakas. The latter Jaina accounts also speak of 7 Gardabhila kings including Vikramāditya. Majumdar firmly believes that the Jaina account follows a definite historical pattern and is broadly supported by our present knowledge about the political condition of North and Central India in the 1st century B.C.

From the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the Śakas started playing an active part in North Indian politics. They advanced from the North-west into the Punjab and occupied large tracts of lands mainly at the cost of the Bactrian Greeks. Naturally they were challenged during their advance into India by the indigenous kings and chieftains. An inscription from Mathurā,[12] which has been assigned to pre-Kuṣāṇa period by Bühler, mentions a certain Gotiputra, probably a Kṣatriya chieftain and describes him as a black-cobra (*kālavāḷa*) to the Śakas and Poṭhayas. There is no doubt that this particular gentleman, hailing from Mathurā, was one of those Indian nobles who endeavoured to check the advance of the Śakas into that great and affluent city. Since Mahākṣatrapas like Rājuvala or Śoḍāsa started ruling at Mathurā from the closing years of the 1st century B.C., our Gotiputra fought his wars before the occupation of Mathurā by Śakas. It was precisely at this time, i.e., middle of the 1st century B.C., that in another great city of India viz. Ujjayinī local princes were engaged in all probability in life and death struggle with these Śakas. The Jaina accounts of Kālaka and Vikramāditya preserve an echo of those struggles.

D.C. Sircar, the well-known epigraphist, observes[13] in his *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition* that the silence of the Purāṇas on Vikramāditya conclusively proves that no Vikramāditya of 1st century B.C., ever existed. But that learned scholar forgets that the Purāṇas have not said anything on the great Gupta Vikramāditya, although they refer to the Guptas. Should we conclude

10 Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, p. 210.
11 Vol. III, p. 59.
12 *EI*, Vol. I, p. 394.
13 Pp. 112f.

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from this silence that Candragupta Vikramāditya never existed ? We have already seen that according to the Jaina tradition Vikramāditya was one of the Gardabhila kings and these Gardabhilas are represented as having ruled befor the Śakas in the Purāṇas. There is no doubt that the sections of Purāṇas dealing with the dynasties of the Kali-yuga were written around 500 A.D., and the Purāṇic writers did not think it necessary to mention individually kings of all dynasties and races. That is why the Ābhīras, Yavanas, Śūdras and Śakas etc., are mentioned by name only.

It should also be noticed that the celebrated Al-Bīrūnī, writing in 1030 A.D., has mentioned Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. and the era established by him. He even observes that the era started 664 years before the Harṣa era.[14] Al-Bīrūnī knew the Guptas as a ' wicked and powerful people '[15], but he completely ignores all the Gupta Vikramādityas. To him there was only one Vikramāditya, the Vikramāditya of tradition.

We do not claim that we have been able to answer the problems associated with ' Vikramāditya ' of Indian tradition. There is every reason to believe that even in the early mediaeval period Indian writers had confused idea about the Vikramāditya tradition. It was a sheer coincidence that the later Vikramāditya, like his earlier namesake, was an enemy of the Śakas. It is also probable that both the Vikramādityas were patrons of learning. Now, for those who hold that Candragupta II was the earliest Vikramāditya the present writer has the following questions :

(a) Why the *Bṛhatkathā* literature includes the Vikramāditya legend ?

(b) Why Yuan Chwang refers to ' Vikramāditya ' as the king of Śrāvastī when there was no Śravastī worth the name ?

(c) Why Al-Bīrūnī, writing in 1030 A.D., has not associated Vikramāditya with the Guptas ?

(d) Why did the late Jaina writers think of creating a Gardabhila Vikramāditya ?

(e) Why the era of 58 B.C. is called by the name ' era of Mālavas ' in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta ?

(f) Why at all there should be an Indian indigenous tradition regarding a Vikramāditya of the 1st century B.C. ?

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14 Ch. 49.

15 *Loc. cit.*

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ADVENT OF ŚAṄKARA IN THE CENTRAL HIMALAYAS

By

GAUTAM N. DWIVEDI, Nainital

The religious and intellectual conquest of India by Śaṅkara did not leave out the Himalayan region. In fact, he did his most important work here, writing his well-known commentaries on the Upaniṣads, the Gītā and the Brahmasūtras at the Vyāsa hermitage near Badari, and he chose to die at Kedara. It was he who, in popular belief, installed the present image of Nārāyaṇa at Badrinath.

Traditions about Śaṅkara vary widely. There are more than twenty biographies of Śaṅkara available at present known as *Śaṅkara-Vijaya* (ŚV) or by similar titles. None of them is contemporary, while most of them are very recent compositions, some as late as the 18th cent. But in so far as they give the unanimous part of the tradition they may be based on earlier ŚV, e.g. the one reportedly composed by Padmapāda (called ' *Vijaya-ḍiṇḍima* ', now lost) who was a chief disciple of Śaṅkara. The most widely known ŚV's today are those by Mādhava and Ānandagiri.[1]

Śaṅkara was an amazing genius and his life (as narrated in ŚV) is overgrown with legends and marvellous anecdotes. But it would be wrong for this reason to dismiss the ŚV as mythological and unreliable. They do have a substratum of historical truth and in many details they are unanimous.

Traditions about Śaṅkara current in Kumaon and Garhwal are unanimous on the point that Śaṅkara came here and drove out the Buddhists and other heretics after defeating them in argument. The present image of Badrinath is supposed to have been installed by him. (ŚV mentions this). The present Nambudri priests of the temple (the Rawals) are in direct line (partly broken) of Troṭakācārya, Śaṅkara's disciple. A similar tradition connects Śaṅkara with Nepal, but there the story is more violent.[2] "Śaṅkara met in argument the Buddhist Acharyas and defeated them. Some of them fled and some were put to death. He ordered them to do *himsā*, against the teaching of Buddhism. He forced the nuns to marry. He sought out and destroyed 84000 works of Buddhism. He then went to the Manichura mountain to destroy the Buddhists there. Six times the goddess, Mani Jogini, raised the storm, but the seventh time, Śaṅkara succeeded in reaching the top. Śaṅkara thus destroyed the Buddhist religion and allowed none to follow it. He introduced the Śaiva religion in its place."

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1 Mādhava's ŚV, Ānandāśrama SS No. 22.

2 Atkinson, E. T., Himalayan Gazetteer, II. 466 (Delhi, 1973, Reprint)

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Atkinson accepted this version as true and remarked that there was no reason to doubt that the course of events had been similar in Kumaon, in view of the universal popular tradition in both Nepal and Kumaon. Both he and Rev. Oakley[3] imagined a religious cataclysm during which Śaṅkara led an exterminating crusade, with the help of secular prince who profited by the plunder of Buddhist monasteries. These princes could be the Katyuris. The Nepalese story is patently absurd and inconsistent with the character of Śaṅkara. It bears clear marks of Buddhist invention.

Did Śaṅkara destroy Buddhism in Nepal and India including Kumaon-Garhwal? This is an important question of history, and even if we accept that Śaṅkara achieved this result by force of intellect and not arms, the essential question still remains whether the eventual disappearance of Buddhism from India has any relation to the career and work and influence of Śaṅkara.

The date of Śaṅkara then becomes important. The dates of his birth and death most widely accepted today by Indian and western scholars, including Dasgupta and Radhakrishnan, are 788 and 820 A.D. However, Baldev Upadhyay[4] has shown cogent reasons for dating Śaṅkara a century earlier. He dates Śaṅkara 684-716 A.D.

It must be admitted that received tradition does not give an agreed date for Śaṅkara. For instance, Ānandagiri's ŚV and the tradition of the Śṛṅgerī Maṭha give 14 V.S. as Śaṅkara's date of birth, while the traditions of Kāmakoṭi and Dwārakā Maṭhas respectively give Kali era 2593 (= 509 B.C.) and Kali 2631 (= 471 B.C.). All these dates are historically impossible. Therefore, the true dates of Śaṅkara must be determined on other grounds.

Since Śaṅkara quotes a *kārikā* of Diṅnāga,[5] he cannot be earlier than the sixth century A.D., for Diṅnāga lived at the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century.[6] This settles the upper limit. Diṅnāga's pupil was Dharmapāla, abbot of Nalanda (early sixth) who taught the redoubtable Dharmakīrti as well as Śīlabhadra, his successor in the abbotship of Nalanda, and the teacher and friend of Hsüan-tsang. Taranatha records the Tibetan tradition that Kumārila was a contemporary of Dharmakīrti and the Tibetan king Songtsengampo (620-649)[7] According to ŚV, Kumārila studied Buddhist philosophy under a Buddhist teacher, though the teacher is not named. Nalanda would be the right place. ŚV narrates that, on being found out by the Buddhists, Kumārila challenged his teacher and defeated him in argument. On the other

3 Atkinson, loc, cit.; Oakley, E. S. Holy Himalaya, p. 96-97

4 Upadhyay B., Sri Sankaracharya, p. 29f. (Hindustani Academy., Allahabad 1950)

5 Bhāṣya on B.S. 2.2.28.

6 Dr. Dutt, Nalinaksha in Classical Age, 391.

7 The dates and spelling are following Tucci, Transhimalaya (Delhi 1973).

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hand, Taranatha adds the curious information that Dharmakīrti was a southern Brāhmin and a nephew of Kumārila under whom he studied Vedic lore, disguised as a servant. Later, he challenged the master and defeated him in argument. Obviously, these are mutual compliments.

Since Dharmapāla ruled at Nalanda at the beginning of the seventh century,[8] Dharmakīrti and Śīlabhadra may be placed in the middle of the century. This is borne out by the association of Śīlabhadra and Hsüan-tsang. As Kumārila refutes the doctrine of Dharmakīrti, the two were contemporaries (as stated by Taranatha) or Kumārila was somewhat later and lived till late seventh century. Now, tradition is almost unanimous that Śaṅkara met Kumārila and requested him to write a *Vārttika* on his own *Bhāṣya*. Kumārila at that time was an old man, on the point of religious suicide, at Prayag. Śaṅkara was 16 then. It would be reasonable then to place Śaṅkara at the end of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. An old text, *Śaṅkara Paddhati*[9] gives 612 Śaka i.e. 720 A.D. as the date of Śaṅkara's death. His birth would be 688 A.D. according to this reckoning. We thus come back to 680 A.D. recommended by R. C. Bhandarkar as Śaṅkara's date of birth.[10]

This date would agree better with the history and legends of Kumaon-Garhwal. The Tibetan ruler Songtsengampo (620-649) is reputed to have conquered the entire Himalayan region, including of course Kumaon-Garhwal. He was a devout Buddhist and most likely extended Tibetan Buddhism in Kumaon-Garhwal. "The first prey of this Buddhist expansionism was the sacred shrine of Badrinath."[11] Significantly, ŚV speaks of Chinese depradations as being responsible for the loss of Badrinath image. The priests out of fear had thrown the icon into nearby Nārada-Kuṇḍa, and Śaṅkara searched it out and installed it.

With the decline of Tibetan power in the latter-half of the seventh century, the local rulers asserted their independence. The Katyuris of Joshimath rose to power c. 690 A.D.[12] Popular legend also associates Śaṅkara with the Katyuris.[13] It is possible that the rise of the Katyuris coincided with the advent of Śaṅkara in the Himalayan region.

The present dates of Śaṅkara, 788-820 A D. are difficult to harmonise with the northern campaigns of the Pāla king Dharmapāla 770-810 A.D. Dharmapāla was an ardent Buddhist. His armies marched up to Kedāra (Garhwal) and Gokarṇa (Nepal)[14] The earliest Katyuri inscriptions show great similarity

8 Dr. Dutt, loc. cit.
9 Quoted by Upadhyay, op. cit., 39.
10 Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, II, 447 fa.
11 Nautiyal, K. P., Archaeology of Kumaon (Varanasi, 1969) p. 42.
12 Ibid. p. 49.
13 Atkinson narrates an interesting legend, Gazetteer, II, 468.
14 Khalimpur Cp of Dharmpapāla (E.I., IV, 243)

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with the Pāla inscriptions which proves that the claims of Dharmapāla and hi son Devapāla to have ruled up to the Himalayas were no empty boast. Whil remaining Śaivites, the Katyuri rulers were probably vassals of the Pālas. In an case, this would not be a favourable time for a Brahmanical crusade.

It was not Śaṅkara who drove out Buddhism and Buddhists from Kumaon Garhwal. Buddhism and Jainism had entered this region, but only marginally, without making much impression on its predominantly Śaiva-Śākta population.[15] True, Buddha in his life time had visited the foothills, Goviṣāṇa and Srughna. Asoka wrote his edicts at Kalsi. After the third Buddhist Council held under him, Upagupta sent out Majjhima to the Himalayan region for missionary work. But by the seventh century Buddhism was waning even in the foothills. In Brahmapura (Garhwal) Hsüan-tsang found only five monasteries but very few brethren. At Goviṣāṇa (Kashipur in Terai) he found only two, with 100 brethren; the majority were non-Buddhists.[16]

Tibetan Buddhism entered the northern borders of Kumaon-Garhwal under Songtsengampo. Aśokachalla (1191 A.D.) and Krāchalla (1223) but made little impression.

There was no need for Śaṅkara to re-establish Śaivism which was endemic to the soil and congenial to its people. He of course purged it of its extravagant and obscene practices in Kumaon-Garhwal as in the rest of India. Intellectually, Śaṅkara and Kumārila imparted new vigour and confidence to Brahmanism, justifying the twin avenues of Jñāna and Karma against sentimental theism, and Buddhist and Jaina doctrines.

Buddhism was still vigorous in the eighth century and flourished from the eighth to the twelfth century in eastern India. Then the Turkish onslaught destroyed the great centres of Buddhist learning, Nalanda, Vikramaśilā and Odantapuri, and this more than anything else must account for the waning of Buddhism.

15 When Atkinson wrote his Gazetteer, out of a total of 900 temples in Kumaon-Garhwal 600 were dedicated to Śiva or Śakti. The situation is no different today.

16 Watters. Travels, I. 329, 331.

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THE RE-CONSIDERATION OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL RELATION BETWEEN NAHAPĀNA AND CĀṢṬANA AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ŚAKA ERA IN THE LIGHT OF THE RECENTLY KNOWN EARLY DATES OF CĀṢṬANA

By

H. G. Shastri and Rasesh Jamindar, Ahmedabad

Till 1970 it was generally held that the Śaka Era is identical with the Era used by the Kushan King Kaniṣka I and his successors and that its origin must be ascribed to Kaniṣka I, though he belonged to the Yue-chi tribe rather than the Śaka one [1] The years 41-46 given in the known inscriptions of the time of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa King Nahapāna as well as the years 52-320 given in those of the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa King Cāṣṭana and his successors, too, were ascribed to the Śaka Era, which commenced in 78 A.D. Nahapāna was accordingly taken to be a predecessor of Cāṣṭana. The early Western Kṣatrapa Kings were regarded to be originally Kṣatrapas (Governors) of the Kushan King Kaniṣka I. However, some scholars contended that the Era used by Kaniṣka I and his successors is not identifiable with the Śaka Era and that Kaniṣka I flourished in about 120 A. D. or later in the 2nd Century.[2]

The publication in 1970 of the Andhau inscription[3] of Cāṣṭana, dated year 11, has led us to reconsider the problem of the chronological relation between Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana and the origin of the Śaka Era.

Smt. Shobhana Gokhale, who edited the Andhau Inscription of Cāṣṭana, dated year 11, took Cāṣṭana (whose known dates are now 11 and 52) a contemporary of Nahapāna, whose known dates range from 41 to 46, for she followed the general view that the years of Nahapāna, too, must be ascribed ro the Śaka Era.

The discovery and publication of this epigraph, however, led us to reconsider this general view, since it compelled us to locate the territories of Nahapāna between the Eastern part (Ujjain) and the Western part (Kachchha) of the kingdom ofCāṣṭana. The inferred contemporaneity of Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana would leave us no other option but to accept that the central territories of Nahapāna were sandwiched between the Eastern and Western wings of the kingdom of Cāṣṭana. This peculiar position is analogus to that of India sandwiched between

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1 Rapson, E. J., *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. IV, p. cvi.

2 Raychaudhuri, H. C., *Political History of Ancient India* (5th Ed. Calcutta, 1950), p. 467; Pandey, R. B., *Indian Palaeography* (Banaras, 1952), p. 195.

3 Gokhale, Shobhana, " Andhau Inscription of Cāṣṭana, Śaka 11 " *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II, Parts 1-2 (Calcutta, 1970), pp. 104 ff.

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West Pakistan and East Pakistan since the partition of the country to the independence of Bangla Desh. We were, therefore, inclined to dissociate the years of Nahapāna from the Śaka Era and put them prior to Śaka 11, with a view to maintain the anteriority of Nahapāna in relation to Cāṣṭana.[4] The discovery of (Śaka) year 11 of Cāṣṭana's reign also led us to dissociate the Śaka Era from Kaniṣka I and ascribe its origin to Cāṣṭana.[5] The reading of year 6 in the Daulatpur Inscription by Dr. V. V. Mirashi[6] has strengthened our modified view about dissociating the dates of Nahapāna from the Śaka Era ascribing its origin to Cāṣṭana.

In this paper we propose to discuss this entire problem in detail.

Let us first discuss the chronological relation between Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana on the basis of numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

The coins of Kṣaharāta King Bhūmaka are known exclusively in copper and they have on the obverse an arrow pointing upward, a thunderbolt either to its right or left and in between a pellet probably representing a disc with the Prākrit legend bearing the name of Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Bhūmaka in Kharoṣṭhi characters, and on the reverse a lion-capital placed either to the left or right of a wheel and the legend in Brāhmī characters.

Nahapāna issued both copper and silver coins. The letters of the legend on Nahapāna's coins are smaller in size than those of the legend on Bhūmaka's coins. Letters on the coins of Bhūmaka consist of thick and bold lines and they cut each other at right angles, while on Nahapāna's coins we find letters with thin lines and curvatures. For the first time we find a bust of the king on the obverse of Nahapāna's coins. The symbols on the obverse of Bhūmaka's coins were adopted by Nahapāna on the reverse of his coins. The Prākrit legend on the coins of Nahapāna is in Graeco-Roman characters on the obverse and in Kharoṣṭhi as well as Brāhmī characters on the reverse. The legend represents Nahapāna as Rājan and Kṣaharāta.

Most of the cave inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna represent Nahapāna as Rājan Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa, while the last known cave inscription[7] dated year 46 styles him Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Swāmin. One of the yearly inscriptions bears three dates, viz. years 41, 42, and 45.

4-5 Shastri, H. G. "The Chronological Relation between Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana in the light of the Andhau Inscription of Cāṣṭana dated year 11", paper read in History Section, All India Oriental conference XXVIth Session (Ujjain, 1972); Rasesh Jamindar, 'Paśchimi Ksatrapo' *Gujarāt-no Rājakiya ane Sāṁskritik Itihāsa*, Vol. II (Ahmedabad, 1972) pp. 111 ff; *Ksatrapa Kāl-num Gujarāt* (Ahmedabad, 1975), pp. 20 ff.

6 Mirashi, V. V. "Daulatpur Inscription of the Reign of Cāṣṭana, Year 6", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2 (Baroda, 1978), pp. 34 ff.

7 Junnar Cave Inscription dated year 46 (*ASWI* Vol. IV, P. 103)

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According to the Nasik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, dated (regnal) year 19, Sātavāhana King, Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi brought an end to the Kṣaharāta dynasty and extended sway over all the territories of the Kṣaharāta, which ranged from Puṣkara in north to Nāsika in south and from Ākara in east to the western sea.[8]

Cāṣṭana, a Kṣatrapa King of another (probably Kārdamaka) family ruled over Kachchha at least from year 6 to year 52, according to Andhau inscriptions.[9] Ptolemy has recorded that his capital was Ujjain.[10] In the latter part of his reign King Cāṣṭana was assisted by his grandson King Rudradāman.

In the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I,[11] dated year 72, he is represented as Rājan Mahākṣatrapa, while Cāṣṭana is styled Rājan Mahākṣatrapa Swāmin. He is also said to have been ruling over several territories covering present Southern Rājasthan, Gujarat (including Saurashtra and Kachchha) and Malwa. It means that the Kārdamaka Kṣatrapas recovered from the Sātavāhanas all the territories lost by the Kṣaharātas to the latter, except those in Mahārāṣṭra

The silver coins of Cāṣṭana are exactly similar to those of Nahapāna as far as the obverse is concerned. It continues entirely on the coins of all his successors who reigned for more than 200 years, excepting the non-significant character of the Graeco-Roman characters and the inclusion of the date in course of time. The coins are dated in continuous years of an era, ranging from 101 to 320; they are unanimously ascribed to the Śaka Era.

The reverse of the Kṣatrapa coins has, however, undergone fundamental modifications in the symbols as well as in the legend. The symbols on the Kṣaharāta coins, viz arrow, discus and thunderbolt are given up altogether and replaced by other symbols. The reverse of the early silver coins of Cāṣṭana bears the symbols of crescent and star, while that of his later coins have a three-arched hill surmounted with a crescent, crescent to left and star to right on the top and a waivy line (representing river) beneath. The later group of symbols continued on the reverse of the Kṣatrapa coins up to the end of their long reign. The legend on the reverse is incised round the symbols in a circular line near the rim of the coin, covering the entire space. It also includes the name of the King's father on the coins of Cāṣṭana, while the legend on the reverse of the silver coins of all his successors gives both the name and titles of the father (or predecessor in one instance)[12] along with those of the King who issued them.

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8 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 108 f.

9 Vide No. 1 and 4 above and *Epigraphica India.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff.

10 Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 155.

11 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 42 ff.

12 King Mahākṣatrapa Swāmin Simhasena is represented as the son of the sister of King Mahākṣatrapa Swāmin Rudrasena III.

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A comparative study of the particulars given above clearly indicates tha (i) among the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna, who introduced certain innovations on the obverse of the coins, (ii) the Kṣaharātas los their Kingdom to the Sātavāhanas, (iii) Cāṣṭana, a Kṣatrapa of a differen family, recovered many territories from the Sātavāhanas, (iv) Cāṣṭana continued the obverse of Nahapāna's coins but introduced innovations on the reverse, (v) the successors of Cāṣṭana continued his coin-type throughout their long reign with the addition of dates in course of time, (vi) Cāṣṭana, therefore, flourished later than Nahapāna and their reigns cannot be taken as simultaneous.

The Western Kṣatrapas probably belonged to the Śaka tribe.[13] The dates given in the inscriptions and on the coins of Cāṣṭana and his successors, ranging from year 6 to 320, obviously belong to one continuous era, which is identifiable with the Śaka Era. But the years 41-46, can no longer be ascribed to the Śaka Era, since the recently known early dates of Cāṣṭana have pushed the upper limit of his reign as early as Ś. E. 6-11 and since Nahapāna definitely reigned prior to Cāṣṭana. If they, however, be taken as having been reigning simultaneously, the territories of Nahapāna would be sandwiched between the Eastern and Western territories of Cāṣṭana, and if Daśapura mentioned in a Nasik cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna was situated within the domain of Nahapāna, it would be even beyond the eastern limit of the eastern part of the domain of Cāṣṭana who reigned at Ujjain according to Ptolemy! Moreover, if Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana ruled simultaneously, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi will have to be taken as having conquered Ākara-Avantī from the dynasties of the Kṣatrapas. If Cāṣṭana also held sway over Surāṣṭra, he will have to be taken as having lost even that territory to the Sātavāhanas. If Prabhāsa mentioned in the Nasik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna was included within his domain, did Soraṭh (Junagadha District) lie outside the realm of Cāṣṭana, the coins of whose successors are found there in large numbers? Thus, the supposition of the simultaneous reign of Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana is not only contradicted by numismatic and epigraphic evidence, but is also found to give rise to several incongruities. In the light of the recently known early dates of the reign of Cāṣṭana, we should, therefore, inevitably dissociate the known dates of Nahapāna from the Śaka Era.

The geographical perplexity of the territories of Nahapāna and Cāṣṭana could be avoided by supposing that Cāṣṭana ruled over Kachchha in the beginning (year 6-11) while Nahapāna held sway over the Ajmer region, mainland Gujarat, Saurashtra, Malwa and Western Mahārāṣṭra at least in years 41-46 and

13 In a fragmentary Nasik Cave Inscription (*E.I.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 85 ff.) Uṣavadāta son-in-law of Nahapāna is introduced as a Śaka. The name *Kṣaharāta* is, identified with *Karatai*, the designation of a famous Śaka tribe of the North, mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 484). The name *Ysāmotika*, too, is of scythian origin (Satyasrava, *The Śakas in India*, p. 69)

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that it was at a later stage that Cāṣṭana (and Rudradāman I) recovered many of the territories lost by the Kṣatrapas to the Sātavāhanas and then Cāṣṭana shifted his capital to Ujjain (circa 130 A.D.), his Kingdom ranging from Malwa to Kachchha and from the Ajmer region to South Gujarat. But this assumption cannot account for the adoption of the era used in Cāṣṭana's principality by King Nahapāna ruling over a very vast Kingdom.

Nahapāna definitely reigned at least a few years or a few decades prior to the upper limit of the reign of Cāṣṭanas which is now to be dated not later than Ś.E. 6 (84-85 A.D.). The reign of Nahapāna should roughly be dated during the first six decades of the 1st century A.D.. If his known years 41-46 belonged to some era, the era must accordingly have commenced from about 1 A.D. to about 14 A.D. But no known era in India started during those years. Some scholars have proposed to ascribe the years 41-46 to the Vikrama Era,[14] while some other scholars have suggested to assign them to an early Śaka Era which is supposed to have started in 123 B.C., or 83 B.C.[15] In that case the known years of the reign of Nahapāna would correspond to 16-11 B.C. or 42-37 B.C. or 82-77 B.C. respectively. But the reign of Nahapāna does not seem to be remote from the reign of Cāṣṭana, whose known dates correspond to 84-130 A.D. It is, therefore, better to take the years 41-46 as regnal years of Nahapāna. This view was already proposed by some scholars,[16] especially on the basis of the *Periplus*. It was also corroborated by the resemblance of the symbols on the coins of the Kṣaharāta with those on the coins of the Scytho-Parthian Kings Spalirises and Azes II.[17] Accordingly, Nahapāna reigned at least for 46 years and his reign may be dated about 14 to 60 A.D. during the probable period proposed above. Bhūmaka reigned still earlier, say from about 1 to 14 A.D.

In view of the recently known early dates of the reign of Cāṣṭana, his relation with the Kushan Kings and the identification of the era used by Kaniṣka and his successors, too, must be re-considered anew.

In the Kushan dynasty a new era was started since the reign of the third King Kaniṣka I. For the sake of convenience we shall refer to it as Kaniṣka Era. The known dates of Kaniṣka I and his successors range from year 1 to year 98.[18]

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14 Cunningham, JRAS, 1926, pp. 643 ff.; Sten Konow, *E.I.*, Vol. XIV, p. 137; Bakhle, *JBBRAS*, 1927, p. 66; Dubreuil, G. Jouvean, *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 20 ff.; Nilkanta-Sastri, *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 643 ff.

15 Satyasrava, *The Śakas in India* (Lahore, 1947), pp. 55 ff.

16 Ghosh, *IHQ*, Vol VII, p. 122; Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country* (Madras 1941), pp. 53 ff.; Altekar, *PIHC*, Nagpur Session (1950). pp. 39 ff; Sudhakar Chattopadhyay, *The Śakas in India* (Santinikentan, 1967), pp. 43 ff; Karl Khandelwala, *Lalit Kalā*, Nos. 3-4, pp. 16-25.

17 Nilkanta Sastri (Ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 274.

18 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 464 f.

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The inscriptions of Kaniṣka I contain references to Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallān Kṣatrapa Vanaspara, Kṣatrapa Liyaka and Kṣatrapa Veśpasi.[19] It was assume that the era used in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka I and his successors is the Śak era[20] though the Kushans belonged to the Yue-chi tribe. On that basis it wa also presumed that the early Western Kṣatrapa Kings were viceroys of the Kusha sovereigns. The mention of *suvarṇa* (gold coin) and *Kuśanamūla* seemed t corroborate this presumption[21] as the earliest known gold coins were issued b the Kushan Kings.

But we have come across no positive evidence to establish that the Kushar Kings held sway over Western India. Dr. Mirashi cites the fact that Cāṣṭana's statue has been erected by the side of Kaniṣka's statue in the gallery of Mat in support of the generally accepted view that the early Western Kṣatrapa Kings were feudatories of the Kushan sovereigns.[22] But is does not necessarily, establish this relation between them, since the phenomenon might be simply a coincidence and since the gallery is posterior to Cāṣṭana and Kaniṣka. The Western Kṣatrapas were *dejure* ' Kings ' holding royal titles and issuing coins under their own names. No records of the Western Kṣatrapa Kings contain any reference to the Kushan sovereigns. Though the earliest gold coins discovered so far belong to the Kushan Kings, literary references make it clear that gold coins were in vogue in India even in earlier times. Moreover, the word *Kuśaṇamūla* in an inscription of the time of Nahapāna really denotes expenses of Kṛṣaṇa (minor necessities) or Kṛśānna (minor food) rather than value of the Kushan coin.[23] Senart takes it in the sense of a monthly stipend assigned to every monk for food during the rainy season.[24]

The main basis of this presumption is the contemporaneity of the early Western Kṣatrapas with the Kushan kings inferred from the presumed identification of the Kaniṣka Era with the Śaka Era. It was contended that the era was actually started by the Kushans but later on it got known as the Śaka Era since it was used for several centuries by the Western Kṣatrapas of the Śaka tribe.[25] But the recent discovery of years 6 and 11 in the inscriptions of Cāṣṭana has now rendered the identification of the Kaniṣka Era doubtful. It is hardly possible that King Cāṣṭana used the newly started era of Kaniṣka in his dominions of Western India as early as in years 6-11 of that Era.

19 Sircar, D. C., *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1942), Book II, Nos. 31, 38, 42, 43.

20 Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 469.

21 Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. IV (London, 1908), Introduction, p. 185; Dr. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* (Calcutta, 1921), pp. 199 ff.

22 *J. O. I.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, p. 36.

23 Sircar, D. C., op.cit., p. 159, No. 3.

24 *E.I.*, Vol. VIII, p. 83.

25 Vide No. 1 above.

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Even before the discovery of the early years of Cāṣṭana's reign a number of scholars did not accept the identification of the Kaniṣka Era with the Śaka Era and on the basis of synchronism, relative palaeography and relative sculptural style they assigned the reign of Kaniṣka I to the 2nd century rather than the 1st century A.D. Some of them dated the commencement of his reign in about 120 A.D. but it is now held that it must be dated after 150 A.D. the date of the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I. Anyhow Kaniṣka's reign commenced some decades after 78 A.D. and the Śaka Era was already in vogue before it.

The origin of the Śaka Era was also ascribed to certain other kings such as Nahapāna[26] and Cāṣṭana.[27] The recent discovery of the early known years of the reign Cāṣṭana now leads us to establish that the era used by Cāṣṭana and his successors for more than 300 years and later on known as the Śaka Era was in fact started by the Western Kṣatrap King Cāṣṭana of the Śaka tribe.

Before the discovery of the early dates of the reign of Cāṣṭana, we too held that the Era used by the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa Kings as well as Kārdamaka Kṣatrapa Kings was the Śaka Era and that it was adopted by them from the Kushan sovereigns of North India. But the recent discovery of the two inscriptions in Kachchha has led us to modify our views not only about the identification of the dates given in the inscriptions of the time of Nahapāna but even about the identification and origin of the era used in the inscriptions of Kaniṣka I and his successors.

The recovery of many territories lost by the Kṣaharātas to the Sātavāhanas was a great achievement on the part of Cāṣṭana, who was a Kṣatrapa of another family. With the active aid of his grandson Rudradāman he presumably now held sway over a vast Kingdom extending over Rajasthan, Gujarat (including Saurashtra and Kachchha) and Malwa. King Cāṣṭana presumably started his new era to commemorate this outstanding achievement.

It is rather difficult to give up traditions established since long.[28] But in the investigation into truth, established traditions though they may be popular or deep-rooted before have to be modified in view of new data coming to light.[29]

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26 *JRAS* (NS), Vol. IV (1870), pp. 81 ff.; *JBBRAS*, Vol. IX (1867-70), pp. 139 ff.; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, (1896), pp. 26 f; *Journal Asiatic*, Vols. IX-X, pp. 120 ff.

27 Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1888, pp. 232 f; 1892, p. 44.

28 "Established traditions though originally based on insufficient evidence, die hard and are the greatest obstacles to the establishment of truth". (R. C. Majumdar, *Readings in Political History of India* (Delhi, 1976), p. 69.

29 In addition to the references given in n. 4-5 above, also vide Rasesh Jamindar, "Were the Western Kṣatrapas Viceroys of the Kusanas"? *Umeshmishra Commemoration Volume.* (1970), pp. 703, ff; "Did Cāṣṭana start the Śaka Era?" *Sambodhi*, Vol.I, No. 4 (1973), pp. 32 f.

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EXPOSITION OF YOGA[1] IN THE MĀRKAṆḌEYA-PURĀṆA

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Introductory :

The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (= *Mkp.*) contains a well-known treatise on *Yoga*[2], in the form of discourse between Dattātreya, lord of *yogins* (*Yogīśa*, 40.66) and King Alarka, son of King Ṛtudhvaja and Madālasā[3], who was herself *Yoginī* and *Yoga-mātā* (21. 66-67). In this article this material on *Yoga* is briefly discussed under various topics as follows :—

The Nature of Yoga :

Yoga is described as the remedy for destroying men's connection with misery[4], as the means of salvation, unique, indescribable, incapable of designation and through its attainment, it is believed, there is no rebirth (16.6). Elsewhere it is described as a cessation of ignorance (*ajñāna*) through knowledge, which is on the one hand, emancipation and unity with *Brahman*, and on the other, dissociation from the *guṇas* of *Prakṛti* (36.1). The ultimate object of realisation is the attainment of Brahmanhood[5] (36.8).

The Different Stages of Yoga-Practice :

The *Mkp.* mentions seven stages of *Yoga*-practice viz. (1) *Vrata* (vow) (38.16), (2) *Niyama* (observance) (38.17), (3) *Āsana* (posture), (4) *Prāṇāyāma* (breath-control), (5) *Pratyāhāra* (sense-control), (6) *Dhāraṇā* (concentration) and (7) *Dhyāna* (meditation) (36.10ff.). Six of these are explained as follows :—

Vrata (vow)[6] : It is said to be five-fold, viz. (1) *Asteya* (non-stealing), (2) *Brahmacarya* (chastity), (3) *Tyāga* (self-sacrifice), (4) *Alobha* (non-covetousness) and (5) *Ahiṃsā* (non-injury) (38.16).

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1. The word '*yoga*' occurs in the *Mkp.* in the sense of 'connection' (8.132;16.7*ab*; etc.), 'Yogic practice' (16.7*cd* etc.) etc. For different meanings on *yoga;* vide Dasgupta S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, pp, 226 f.

2. Chaps. 36-40 of Veṅkateśvara Edition, (and chaps 39-43 of Calcutta Edition.)

3. The *Mkp.* also contains other instances showing that women also used to attain *yoga* (16.90*cd;* 49.33).

4 योगं दुःखसंयोगभेषजम् । *Mkp.* 16.6*ab*; cf.

तं विद्याद्दुःखसंयोगवियोगं योगसंज्ञितम् । *Bhagavadgītā* 6. 23*ab*.

5. There is no reference in the chaps. on *yoga* of the *Mkp.* to '*Kaivalya*'.

6. The *Yoga-sūtra* (II,30) of Patañjali terms it as '*Yama*', which are :—(1) *ahiṃsā* (2) *satya* (3) *asteya* (4) *brahmacarya* and (5) *aparigraha*.

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Niyama (observance) : It is said to be of five types, viz. (1) *Akrodha* (freedom from anger), (2) *Guruśuśrūṣā* (reverence towards *gurus*), (3) *Śauca* (purity), (4) *Āhāralāghava* (abstemiousness) and (5) *Nityasvādhyāya* (constant study of the *Vedas*) (38.17).[7]

Prāṇāyāma (breath-control) : It is defined as the regulation of breath (36.12cd, 40cd). Just as in the case of metals (like gold and silver) impurities are burnt when they are melted in the blast of a furnace, so blemishes (like passion etc.) of the organs of sense (including the mind) are destroyed by the control of breath (36.11).[8] It is three-fold, viz. (1) *Laghu*, (2) *Madhya*(*ma*) and (3) *Uttama* or *Uttarīya* (36.13ab). *Laghu prāṇāyāma* is of 12 *mātrās*, *Madhyama* of 24 and *Uttama* of 36 (36.14).[9] The time of *mātrā*[10] is that of the winking and opening of the eye-lids once or the time required for pronouncing a short vowel (36.15ab).[11] The *yogin* overcomes springing perspiration (*sveda*) with the first *prāṇāyāma*, tremor (*vepathu*) with the second, and dejection (*viṣāda*) with the third (36.16). The *Mkp.* exemplifies how breath is controlled in the following verses :—

मृदुत्वं सेव्यमानास्तु सिंहशार्दूलकुञ्जराः ।
यथा यान्ति तथा प्राणो वश्यो भवति योगिनः ॥ ३६. १७.
वश्यं मत्तं यथेच्छातो नागं नयति हस्तिपः ।
तथैव योगी छन्देन प्राणं नयति साधितम् ॥ ३६. १८.
यथा हि साधितः सिंहो मृगान् हन्ति न मानवान् ।
तद्वन्निषिद्धपवनः किल्मिषं न नृणां तनुम् ॥ ३६. १९

The *prāṇāyāma* is said to bring about four kinds of results, viz. (1) *dhvasti*, (2) *prāpti*, (3) *saṃvit* and (4) *prasāda*. *Dhvasti* means the destruction of the fruits of good and evil actions and the attainment of pellucidity of mind. *Prāpti* means the destruction of personal sin such as greed, egotism etc. *Saṃvit* means the rise of a mystical vision by which one can see past and future as well as

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7. According to *Yoga-sūtra* (II.32) of Patañjali, five observances are :— (1) *śauca* (2) *santoṣa* (3) *tapas* (4) *svādhyāya* and (5) *īśvarapraṇidhāna*.

8. Cf. *Manusmṛti* 6.71.

9. The *Purāṇas* give different *mātrās* for *prāṇāyāmas;* for details vide, Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra, vol. 5, pt. II,* p. 1438.

10. For details on *mātrās* vide *Ibid,* / p. 1438, fn. 2361.

11. The Veṅkateśvara edition reads :
'निमेषोन्मेषणे मात्रा कालो लघ्वक्षरस्तथा ।' 36.15*ab*;
While the Calcutta edition reads :—
'तालो लघ्वक्षरं तथा ।' (39.15*ab*) instead.
The word 'ताल' means 'beating time in music' of 'rhythm'.

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remote and invisible things. *Prasāda* means the contentment and pacification o the sense-organs, sense-objects and five *vāyus* (36 20-26).[12]

Pratyāhāra (sense-control) :—It means the withdrawal of the senses from their objects. Thus through it the influence of the external objects is negated. cf.

शब्दादिभ्यः प्रवृत्तानि यदक्षाणि यतात्मभिः ।
प्रत्याहृियन्ते योगेन प्रत्याहारस्ततः स्मृतः ॥ 36.41cd-42ab.

Dhāraṇā (concentration) :—It means concentration on an object (36.41^{ab}). In *Mkp.* 36.36 *dhāraṇā* is said to be two-fold. This may possibly refer to the concentration on the object, internal (like the heart, or forehead) or external, like the Sun.[13] The *Mkp.* speaks of ten *dhāraṇās* on the different parts of the *yogin*'s own body in the words :

प्राङ्नाभ्यां हृदये चाथ तृतीये च तथोरसि ।
कण्ठे मुखे नासिकाग्रे नेत्रभ्रूमध्यमूर्ध्वमु ॥
किंचित्तस्मात्परस्मिंश्च धारणा परमा स्मृता ।
दशैता धारणाः प्राप्य प्राप्नोत्यक्षरसाम्यताम् ॥

i.e. first in the navel, then in the heart, chest, throat, mouth, the tip of the nose, eye, the centre between the eye-brows and the middle of the head and in what is therebeyond. The concentration is said to enable one to attain unity with *Brahman* (36.43 ff.).

Dhyāna (meditation) : It is eulogised in the following words :—

वेदाच्छ्रेष्ठाः सर्वयज्ञक्रियाश्च यज्ञाज्जाप्यं ज्ञानमार्गश्च जप्यात् ।
ज्ञानाद्ध्यानं संगरागव्यपेतं तस्मिन्प्राप्ते शाश्वतस्योपलब्धिः ॥ (३८.२५).

The various objects of *Dhyāna* are regarded as being the five elements beginning from the earth, *manas* and *buddhi*. The *yogin* has to take these objects one by one and then to leave them off, so that he may not be attached to any one of them. When he does so and becomes unattached to any one of these seven, he attains Supreme Bliss (37.14 ff.) [14]

It is said that one should extinguish the blemishes (like passion etc.) by *prāṇāyāmas*, sin by *dhāraṇā*, contact with the objects of sense by *pratyāhāra* and

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12. Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa*, *pūrvārdha*, 11.4.-11. In the *Vāyupurāṇa* these results are styled as (1) *Śānti* (2) *Praśānti* (3) *Dīpti* and (4) *Prasāda*.

13. Vide *Hārita-smṛti* as quoted in the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru* by Lakṣmīdhara Bhatta, p. 174, edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Oriental Institute, Baroda. 1945.

14. Cf. *Garuḍapurāṇa* (I. 226.21-22) quoted by late Prof. J. J. Kania in his Gujarati translation of 'पातञ्जलयोगदर्शनम्' (p.362), published by Gujarātī Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad, 1963; vide also MM.P. V. Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 1446, fn. 2378.

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such attributes as are ungodly (viz. anger, avarice, jealousy etc.) by meditation (on *Brahman*) (36.10).[15]

The Time and Place for Yoga-practice :—

The *yogin* is advised not to practise *yoga* when his stomach is windy, or he is hungry or tired or disturbed in mind (36.14^{cd}); nor when it is very cold or hot or windy (36.47^{cd}-48^{ab}). He should avoid the place where there is noise, or fire, or water, or a decayed cow-shed, or cross-roads, or a collection of dry leaves, or a river, or a cemetery. He should also avoid practising *yoga* in a place infested by snakes, or full of fear, on the edge of a well, amid a number of funeral piles, or ant-hills (36.48^{cd}-50^{ab}).[16] Furthermore, he should also avoid the time and place he does not feel easy (36.50^{cd}).[17] Moreover there should be no evil sight during the *yoga*-practice (36.51^{ab}).

Dangers in Neglect of Rules Prescribed for Yoga-practice :—

The improper performance of *yoga* entails bodily ailments like deafness, stupidity, failure of memory, dumbness, blindness, etc. Such diseases which occur from the neglect of rules prescribed for *yoga*-practice may be cured by yogic processes like *prāṇāyāma* and others. There are also various other ways of cure. Thus in gastric troubles the *yogin* should eat warm rice-gruel (*yavāgū*) mixed with ghee. Moreover, in tremor he should fix his mind on a mountain, since it is steady, in dumbness on the faculty of speech, and in deafness on the ear. Furthermore, he should concentrate on a cooling thought amidst heat and vice versa. He should place a stake on his head and beat wood with wood for regaining memory or otherwise he should also think steadily of the wind and fire which pervade heaven and earth. If any demonic spirit enters his body, he should burn it by concentrating on wood and fire (36.46ff.).

Important Details of Practising Yoga :—

In the description of the way to begin yogic exercise, great stress is laid on making a strenuous attempt to realise one's own-self[18] (i. e. his mind and body) (39.9^{a}). The *Mkp.* in a succint manner brings in the *aṅgas* from *āsana* to *dhāraṇā* and *dhyāna* as follows :

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15. This verse is quoted by *Kṛtyakalpataru* (*Mokṣakāṇḍa*, p. 168) which explains :— दोषान् स्वेदवेपथुप्रभृतीन् अनीश्वरान् प्राकृतान्। अपरार्क in his commentary on याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति (आनन्दाश्रम edition) (p. 990) explains :— 'अनीश्वरा गुणा रागद्वेषादयः।' vide also MM. P. V. Kane, *op.cit.*, p. 1440, fn. 2365.
16. Cf. *Vāyupurāṇa, pūrvārdha*, 11.32-33.
17. Cf. *Ibid* 11.31*ab*.
18. प्रागेवात्मात्मना जेयो..... *Mkp.* 36.9*a*; cf.
उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानम्..... *Bhagavadgītā* 6.5*a*.

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The process of practising *yoga* is begun by sitting in *padmāsana, ardhāsa* or *svastikāsana*.[19] The *yogin* has to sit balanced on an uneven seat, drawing i both his feet and firmly fixing his thighs in front, and covering his mouth. H is not to touch his private part with his heels. Further he has to control hi senses, raise his head slightly and not press the teeth together and gaze at the ti of his own nose. He has to merge the influence of *tamas* in *rajas* and that o the latter (i.e. *rajas*) in *sattva*, he has to practise *yoga* taking his stand in *sattva*. He should withdraw his sense-organs from the sense-objects and also control breath and other faculties and also his mind. He who draws in his desires, as a tortoise draws in all its limbs, and who is always delighted in his own self and is settled in the Highest, realises the Highest *Ātman* in his own self. He should purify himself externally and should advance to *pratyāhāra* (sense-control) (36.28ff.). When he is steeped in *yoga* and he controls his mind and body, all his faults perish away. Then settled in his own self, he is able to discriminate Supreme *Brahman* from three *guṇas* of *Prakṛti*, as well as the sky and other primordial atoms and the unsullied Soul (36.37^{ab}).

The Yogins's Life :—

The salient features of the *yogin*'s life are as follows:

Pride (*māna*) and insult (*apamāna*) which cause pleasure and pain respectively to an ordinary man cause the opposite feelings of pain and pleasure respectively to the *yogin* (38.3). He is enjoined to plant his foot after it is purified by his eyes, drink water purified by cloth, speak speech purified by truth and meditate on what is purified by intellect (38.4).[20] He is expected not to become a guest, nor to attend *śrāddhas*, sacrifices, pilgrimages to the gods, nor festivals nor to visit great men for getting any advantage. He is to roam about for alms when the smoke is flung away (from the house), the charcoal is extinguished and when people have taken their meals. He is not to go to the same people daily for getting alms. He is to seek alms from house-holders, or from sages who do not stay in one definite place (*yāyāvara*), but getting the alms from the former is considered as the best means of his livelihood. He is ever to resort to the modest, faithful, tranquil and high-souled Brahmin house-holders, learned in the *Vedas*; next to them to uncorrupt and non-outcasted people.

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19. The *Purāṇas*, *Vāyu* (*pūrvārdha*, 11.33) *Kūrma* (II.11.43), *Liṅga* (I.8.86) and *Garuḍa* (I.238.11) mention the same three *āsanas* as mentioned in the *Mkp*.

20. *Mkp*. 38.4 = *Manusmṛti* 6.46 with the word 'दृष्टिपूतम्' in place of 'चक्षुःपूतम्'. Cf. Kullūka on *Manusmṛti* 6.46 :

केशास्थ्यादिपरिहारार्थं दृष्टिशोधितभूमौ पादौ क्षिपेत् । जलेषु क्षुद्रजन्त्वादिवारणार्थं वस्त्रशोधितं जलं पिबेत् । सत्यपवित्रां वाचं वदेत् । ततश्च मौनेन सह सत्यस्य विकल्पः प्रतिषिद्धसंकल्पशून्यमनसा सर्वदा पवित्रात्मा स्यात् ॥ ४६ ॥

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The practice of getting alms from outcastes is the last livelihood he should wish for (38.5-10).

He is to eat rice-gruel (*yavāgū*). butter-milk (*takra*), milk, barley-gruel (*yāvaka*), fruits and roots, panic seed (*priyaṅgu*), oil-cake (*piṇyāka*) and Śīro (*saṃyāva*). Before eating, he should once sip water and offer oblations to the five vital airs viz. *prāṇa, apāna, samāna, udāna* and *vyāna,* and then eat according to his desire. After eating, he should once again drink water, and then touch his heart (38.11 ff.).

He should devote himself only to the essential knowledge (सारभूतमुपासीत) which can effect his object (of realisation), since multiplicity of knowledge is a hindrance to *yoga.* He who desires that he ought to know this and that may perhaps never gain that knowledge in thousands of ages (38.18-19).

He should discard associations, subdue anger, eat sparingly and control his organs and regulate the gates of his body and then apply himself to profound contemplation (38.20). He has to control speech, action and mind (38.22-23).

When his intellect is purified, and he considers cold and gold alike[21] he comprehends the supreme, eternal and immutable to be the supreme condition, he ceases to be born again (38.24). He who is of composed mind, intent on *Brahman,* attentive and pure, whose delight is concentrated on one object, and who controls his organs, attains *yoga,* i.e. unity with the Ultimate Reality (38.26).

The Description of a Successful Yogin :—

A person engaged in yogic practices succeeding in reaching higher and higher spiritual levels is shown by the appearance of certain traits in himself. Eloquent description of his state is given in *Mkp.* 63-65. " Tranquillity, perfect health, gentleness, a pleasant odour, scanty excretion, a fine complexion, benignity and softness of voice are considered the first indications of the successful *yogin.*[22] Moreover, the chief signs of his *yoga*-realisation are that the people love him and even praise him in his absence, and creatures do not fear him. He is not injured by excessive cold or heat and he does not fear other persons. " (36.64-65).

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21. 38.24*a* = *Bhagvadgītā* 6.8*d.*

22. Cf. लघुत्वमारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं वर्णप्रसादः स्वरसौष्ठवं च । गन्धः शुभो मूत्रपुरीषमल्पं योगप्रवृत्तिं प्रथमां वदन्ति ॥ श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत्. II ११

Cf. also सत्त्वं तथारोग्यमलोलुपत्वं
वर्णप्रभा सुस्वरसौम्यता च ।
गन्धः शुभो मूत्रपुरीषमल्पं
योगप्रवृत्तिः प्रथमा शरीरे ॥ वायुपुराणम्, पूर्वार्ध, ११.६०.

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The Sacred Syllable 'OM' :—

The subject of yogic meditation is '*OM*' which designates Supre *Brahman* and through comprehension of it and meditation on it, one attains fi absorption into *Brahman* (39.3, 14-16). The *Mkp.* explains in the Upaniṣa manner the composition, meaning and efficacy of the sacred word '*OM*' follows (chap. 39) :

अ, उ, and म are the three instants (*mātrās*) of '*OM*'. They are chara terised by goodness, passion and ignorance respectively. The '*ardha-mātrā*' the top of the syllable '*OM*' is devoid of quality and it can be understood b the *yogins* only.

The letter अ is designated as the *Bhūrloka* (the terrestrial world), the lett उ the *Bhuvarloka* (the atmospheric world) and the letter म along with its nas mark, the *Svarloka* (the heaven). The first instant is discrete (*vyakta*) and sho (*hrasva*), the second, the indiscrete (*avyakta*) and long (*dīrgha*), and the thi the intellectual faculty and prolated (*pluta*). The half instant is the highe abode and is beyond expression (39.10-14). It is called *Gāndhārī* as it is to b uttered in the *Gāndhāra* note. Being pronounced, it reaches the head, and co veys the feeling of ants moving over the body.

The syllable '*OM*' consists of three *Vedas*, three worlds, three fires an three deities viz. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the *yogin* absorbed in it obtai extinction therein (39.8^{ed}-9).

It is declared that the *yogin* engrossed in meditation on '*OM*' becom united with Supreme *Brahman* Breath is his bow, the soul is his arrow, and th sublime *Brahman* is his target. It is to be pierced by the heedful man; he the becomes united with *Brahman*, as the arrow becomes embedded in the targ (39.4-5^{ab}).[23]

Results of Yoga-Practice :—

Supernatural powers are developed in the adept in *yoga*. They are i all eight, viz. *aṇimā, mahimā, laghimā, prāpti, prākāmya īśitva, vaśitva* an *kāmāvasāyitva*. The adept in *yoga* can contract or expand his stature or size become light than air, making it possible to cover quickly great distances; gai the power of seeing everything, near or distant, hidden or open, and of movi about in space as he desires ; gain command over even superhuman agencie prolong life indefinitely ; and lastly subdue to his will any one whose shadow treads, or enter the minds of distant persons and pass into the bodies of any o (37.30ff.)[24]

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23. *Mkp.* 39.7*cd*-8*ab* = *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* II. 24 with '*Prāṇo*' in place of '*Praṇavo*' the beginning of a.

24. Cf. *Devala* and *Yājñavalkya Smṛtis* quoted ih the *Mokṣakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpata* pp. 216-218.

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The various other powers the *yogin* acquires are callad '*upasargas*' and it is urged that the *yogin* should always try to keep himself free from the urges of the *upasargas* (37. 1ff). The five varieties of *upasargas* arising out of *sattva, rajas* and *tamas* are called : (1) *Prātibha* (2) *S'rāvaṇa* (3) *Daiva* (4) *Bhrama* and (5) *Āvarta*. *Prātibha* is so-called because the *yogin* fully knows the Vedic matters etc. *S'rāvaṇa* is so-called because the *yogin* perceives the meanings of sounds and also hears the sound from afar. *Daiva* is so-called because like a god the *yogin* sees all around and in the eight directions. *Bhrama* is so called because the *yogin*'s mind wanders without support through his own fault, viz. falling away from all the rules of good conduct. *Āvarta* is so-called because the whirl-pool of knowledge, like the whirl-pool of water, engulphs the mind (37.7ff.).

It is, however, laid down in 37.14ff. that the *yogin* should get over these '*upasargas*' directing his mind towards the highest *Brahman* and meditate upon it.

Finally, the *Mkp.* indicates by various similes how final emancipation from existence is to be attained. To quote an example, it is said that just as the moon-stone does not emit water, if untouched by the rays of the moon; even so if the *yogin* does not engage himself in meditation, he does not attain *Brahman* (40.47ff).

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC TENSIONS IN THE CŌḶA PERIOD

By

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The Cōḷas of the Vijayālaya line played a very prominent role in th mediaeval history of South India. They extended, at one time, their swa nearly over the entire South India. Their contribution, both political and cu tural, to the South Indian history was very rich. Rājarāja I, Kuḷōttunga I Rājādhirāja II, Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III were some of the important Cōḷ emperors. The accession of Kuḷōttunga I marks the commencement of a new era in the history of the Cōḷas. The kingdom of Vēngi became a province of th Cōḷa empire resuscitated by its own rulers. But the Cōḷa empire lost its vitalit and strength during the time of Rājēndra III. It was at this time that Jātavarma Sundara Pāṇḍya I, one of the greatest warriors and conquerors of South India attacked and achieved a signal success against the Cōḷa and Hoyśala forces. Under him the second Pāṇḍyan empire attained its greatest splendour, and all the other powers of South India, up to the river Kṛṣṇā and even beyond, felt the weigh of his arms. Thus the Cōḷas were replaced by the Pāṇḍyas who dominated th history of South India for some centuries.

Prof. K. A. N. Sastri has studied very meticulously the political and cultur history of the Cōḷas by taking all the available literary and epigraphical inform tion into consideration. His monumental work, viz. *The Cōḷas*, has bee acclaimed by many a historian as a classic on the subject in the field even toda He earned the sincere gratitude of the scholarly world for the same. Howeve Prof. Sastri's '*idealised picture of social harmony*' of the Cōḷa period has bee questioned, in recent times, by many scholars. Suvira Jaiswal in her paper, v '*Studies in the Social Structure of the Early Tamils*', has successfully explod the myth of '*social hormony*' that prevailed in the Cōḷa period.[1] The san scholar even suggested, ' Sastri does not make allowance for the fact that sin our sources are mostly documents of the privileged class, they do not reflect th conditions and reactions of the lower classes in general. The very fact that the was an increase in caste stratification and hardening of caste rules leading to t splitting of castes in the Cōḷa times suggests that there were social tensions, f rigidity implies greater exclusiveness which hardly grows in an atmosphere harmony."[2] An attempt is made in the following pages to bring out some mo instances of socio-economic tensions of the Cōḷa period.

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1. Sharma R. S. (Ed), *Indian Society: Historical Probings in memory of D. D. Kosa* (Indian Council of Historical Research), New Delhi, 1974 (*ISHP*), pp. 124ff.
2. *ISHP*, p. 151.

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Prof. Sastri writes : " Each caste was more or less hereditary occupational group with an active organisation for the regularisation and protection of its economic and social interests; and the Indian society in those days (Cōḷa period) is best conceived as a loose federation of strong self-regulating groups which shared a common background of social rights and obligation which made for mutual understanding and accommodation. There is practically no evidence of ugly social conflicts and jealousies, such as those between the right-hand and left-hand castes, or between *Brāhmaṇas* and non-*brāhmaṇas* of more recent times ".[3] But we learn from a record, dated in the second regnal year of Kuḷōttunga I, that there was a clash between the right and left-hand communities, in which the village was burnt down, the sacred places destroyed and the images of deities and the treasury in the temple looted by the robbers. The articles that escaped their spoillation could not be properly secured in the temple. Hence the village had to be rehabilitated, the temple renovated and reconsecrated and new walls had to be built for the *prākara*. The *Sabhā* took a loan of 50 *kaḷañju* of gold which is stated to have been half a carat less in fineness than the *Rājēndraśōḷaṉ-māḍai* from the temple.[4] Another inscription found at Ādutuṟai refers to the ninety-eight sub-sects of the *Iḍaṉṟai* and records also the hardships to which these sub-sects were exposed at the hands of the *Vanniya* tenants, *Brāhmaṇas* and Veḷḷāḷa land-lords, backed by the government officials.[5] Prof. Sastri himself, contrary to his above statement, writes : " Such are the beginnings of an obscure but deep seated antagonism between two sections of the populace which often burst into open hostilities in later days. At Kāñcīpuram the *Valangai* and *Iḍangai* sects would not worship in the same temple, or use the same pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) for religious purposes, and the division affected even the class of courtesans and dancing girls ".[6] The above instances thus clearly prove that there existed social conflicts and jealousies in the Cōḷa period.

There were social restrictions placed upon the activities of some sections of the populace. It is stated that in the *dēvadāna* lands of Paḷaiyanūr, the Iḷavās were not allowed to tap cocoa nut and palmyra palms for tody.[7] There were signs of social exclusiveness observed by the privileged class. " *Brāhmaṇas* evinced a desire not only to live in separate rural communities with *Sabhās* of their own, but as far as possible to exclude other castes from ownership of land in their villages; in both these respects, their attitude seems to have had the general

3. Sastri K. A. N., *The Cōḷas*, Madras. 1937, Vol. II (part. I), p. 350.
4. *AR*, 1936-37, p. 69.
5. *Ibid*, 340 of 1913
6. Sastri K. A. N., *op. cit*, p. 359. A crusade (*Kuhai-iḍi-Kalaham*) against the non-brahmanical *Śaiva-maṭhas* by the Brāhmaṇas is recorded in an inscriptuon of the time of Kuḷōttuṇga III (*AR*, 1913, Part, II, p. 112).
7. *Ibid.*, p. 354.

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approval of the government ".[8] It is evident from this that the government als supported the privileged class in following the policy of social exclusiveness. Th Madras Museum plates of Uttamacōḷa record that the older inhabitants c Sōḷāniyaman in Kāñcīpuram, an area belonging to the temple, were excused th payment of all ancient dues, those residents, however, who had come from othe towns and villages and had settled in it, were required to contribute as *iṟai* to th god of Ūragam a quarter measure of oil and two *nāḷis* of rice per household pe month; even they were exempted from any other dues lavied by the *Nagaram*. Another inscription from Tribhuvani (Pondichery), dated in the forty-thir regnal year of Kuḷōttunga I (A.D. 1113) contains a provision that the artisans and professional men should pursue their crafts and professions within the pre-cincts of the village, and that such of them as served the residents of other villages would be deemed to have been guilty of a grave offence against the law.[10] Re-garding the significance of the latter Prof. Sastri states: "This is an interesting example of rural protectionism; but we have no reason to believe that it was universal or even common. On the other hand, the occasions for service outside one's own village or town could not have been frequent".[11] It may, however, be pointed out that the two above-mentioned instances clearly indicate the cur-tailment of the socio-economic mobility or 'reducing the artisans and craftsmen to the condition of serfdom'.

It has been said that "the *Brāhmaṇa*s as a class were still devoted to their time honoured ideals of spiritual culture and plain living and commanded the voluntary homage of the other classes, as may be seen from the numberless en-endowments in their favour made in all parts of the country and by all classes without distinction."[12] M. G. S. Narayan's paper on '*Kaṇḍalur-Sāḷai – New light on the History of Aryan expansion in South India*' exposed the activities o these "enlightened land-owners". He states that the brāhmanical institution of *ghaṭikā* and *Sāḷai* patronised by the Pallava, Cōḷa and Cēra monarchs wer para-military organisations whose members were adepts in the art of war-far and Vedic learning.[13] Rājarāja and Rājēndra I destroyed this brāhmanical mili tary centre.[14] A careful survey of the land-grants of the Cōḷa period will enabl us to state that the majority of them records donations of land to the *Brāhmaṇa*s With the concentration of economic and military power in brāhmanical institu-tions attached to the temples, it is difficult to assume that the process of accultu ration was entirely peaceful, free from all conflicts and tensions.[15]

8. *Ibid.*, p. 353.
9. *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII), II, 89-94.
10. *AR*, 205 of 1919.
11. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 307.
12. *Ibid*, p. 351.
13. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 32 Session, Jabalpur, 1970, p. 125.
14. *ISHP*, p. 152.
15. *Ibid*, p. 153.

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The system of *sati* was prevalent in the Cōḷa period. "Nothing can more truly illustrate the tragic conflict of feelings in a mind torn between the dread of physical suffering and the eagerness to live up to an inhuman standard of duty than the pathetic declaration of a woman, recorded in an inscription of the reign of Vīrarājendra from South Arcot; she avers that if she lived after the death of her husband, she should become the slave of the other wives of her husband and utters imprecations against those who seek to persuade her to refrain from immolating herself, nay even against people who do not come forward to bind and throw her into the fire, imprecations too shocking to be transcribed here."[16] This declaration given by a woman before committing *sati* would leave the impression that a widow had no social status, nay even tortured in the name of blind traditions and customs. A woman who refused to commit *sati* after the death of her husband was put to untold social insults and even treated as a slave.

Instances of checking social freedom and exploitation of the unprivileged are recorded in some of the epigraphs of the Cōḷa period. The Tiruvadaṇḍai inscription, dated in the seventeenth regnal year (A.D. 1002) of Rājarāja I, states that twelve families of fishermen (*paṭṭinavar*) were dedicated to the temple of Śrī Varāhadēva at the instance of two officials serving in the locality as *nāḍu-kāṇkāṭci* and *nāḍu-vagai*. The twelve families of the fishermen had to pay each, out of their income from weaving and fishing, 3/4 *kaḷañju* of gold, and to assist in the celebration of two annual festivals in the temple, one of them being of seven days duration and ending with the day of Sadaiyam in the month of Āvaṇi, the day of the king's nativity. The *sabhā* and the *ūr* of Tiruvadaṇḍai undertook to hold them and their descendants strictly to their obligations.[17] The element of compulsion, the hereditary nature of the dedication, the part played by the officials and the undertaking of the *sabhā* and *ūr* to enforce the terms clearly indicate the unjust exploitation of the fishermen.

The institution of slavery was conspicuous by its presence in the Cōḷa period. This encouraged the sale of men and women like ordinary vegetables. Instances of destitute persons literally selling themselves to the temples and the privileged class are also recorded in the inscriptions of our period. An inscription dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Rājādhirājadēva II records the sale of four women as *dēvaraḍiyār* to the temple of Tiruvālaṅgāḍudaiya-Nāyaṇār, for 700 kāśus.[18] Another inscription registers the sale of fifteen persons for thirteen *kāśus*.[19] An inscription from Tiruvālangāḍu gives some interesting information regarding the general prevalence of slavery and the treatment meted out to slaves.[20]

16. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 361-362; cf. *AR*, 1907, para. 41, p. 63.
17. *Ibid*, p. 365.
18. *AR*, 80 of 1913.
19. *AR*, 219 of 1925.
20. *AR*, 94 of 1926; Cf. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 366.

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It records that a certain Vayiraḍarāyar had a number of slaves, some belongi to him and others forming part of the dowries of his wives. He sold some the slaves to a local temple. In accordance with the sale deed and royal ord the *mahēśvaras* and the authorities of the temple marked the slaves with the t dent-mark and resolved to allot specific duties to them and punish them suitab when they failed in their duty. After some time some of the slaves defied th orders of the *sthānattār* of the temple, the matter was laid before the gener assembly of the authorities of the temple and of the *maṭhas* and they were punish ed.[21] Though the nature of the punishment is not clear owing to the gaps in th record, the above-mentioned inscription gives us some interesting informatio regarding the "social freedom" and "social hormony" that prevailed in the Cōḷa period. It is evident that the slaves were presented as a part of a dowry a the time of marriage and like animals they were mercilessly marked with a trident mark on their body. The open revolt of the slaves against the orders of the *sthānattār* of the temple would suggest the inhuman treatment meted out to the slaves. Issuing a royal order (*rājaśāsana*) to legalise the sale deed would also speak volumes of the "social freedom" accorded to the slaves by the kings of the period under our consideration. It is of interest to mention in this connection that in A.D. 1201, a Vaḷḷāḷa sold his two daughters and himself to a temple at Tiruppamburam in order to escape starvation.[22] An inscription records the sale to a local temple[23] of a number of women slaves who formed the part and parcel of the ancestral estate of two accountants.[23] An inscription found at Tiruvoṛiyar, dated in the 19th regnal year of Rājarājadēva III, records the gift of five women and their descendants for husking paddy in the temple by Vāyaluṛkiḷavan, Tiṛuvegambam-Uḍaiyan and Seṇḍamaṛaikkannan.[24] Another inscription found at Vēḍaranyam in the Tanjore district of the time of Rājarāja III records the sale of five men and five women and their relations for a price of 1,000 *kāśu* by a certain Ariyan Piccan.[25]

There are innumerable inscriptions recording donation of land and money by the ministers, merchants, military officers and sometimes the residents of a whole village for feeding the *Bhūdevas*, i.e. *Brāhmaṇas*. The minister of Vikramacōḷadēva, Mukundayaṛaḍipati Tiṛucctrrambaḷavān built a *maṭha* and presented land to it for feeding 50 *Brāhmaṇas* in Pugaṛnagar.[26] The Kumbhakōṇam inscription, dated in the 27th regnal year of Madiṛaikoṇḍa Pārakēśarivarman, records a gift of land for feeding a *Śivayogin*.[27] Another inscription, dated in the third regnal

21. *AR*, 1925, part. II, p. 18. cf. Sastri K. A. N. *op.cit*, p. 366.
22. *AR*, 80 of 1911.
23. *Ibid*, 296 of 1911.
24. *Ibid*, 122 of 1912.
25. *Ibid*, 1905, para. 20, p. 46.
26. *Ibid*, 269 of 1911.
27. *Ibid*, 232 of 1911.

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year of Rājādhirājadēva I, records the sale of land by the residents of Vessarupaḍi to the *Brāhmaṇa* lady, Aṟiyavammai, wife of Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa of Meṟkaḷapura in *Ārya-dēśa*, for the purpose of feeding the *Māhēśvaras* in the *Rājēndraśōḷan* which was evidently a *maṭha* built by her in the temple.[28] The residents of Ennūr in Nāval-nāḍu donated some land for feeding a *Brāhmaṇa* learned in the *Vedas* and a *Śivayogin*.[29] The merchants of Tiṟuvoṟṟiyur and the residents of Mañjiyan-Karaṇai donated some money for feeding three *Brāhmaṇas* learned in the *Vedas*.[30] Kuṭṭan Ganavāḍi, the military officer of Gaṇgaikoṇḍan *alias* Uttamasōḷa-Mārayan, donated some *Rājarājan-kāśu* for feeding a *Brāhmaṇa*.[31] It would thus be clear that there are innumerable recorded evidences of feeding *Brāhmaṇas* freely but instances of feeding the poor, needy and sick are extremely rare.

Prof. Sastri states regarding the administration, "there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu state."[32] How a case of unfounded charge was dealt with in the time of the Cōḷa kings is noticed in an inscription from Tiṟuṇamanaṭṭur.[33] This inscription states that the members of the *Sabhā* of Aviyaṇṇūr endowed lamps in two temples in the village in order to atone for having made an unfounded charge on two persons. The accountants of a temple doing slave trade are mentioned in a lithic record of our period.[34] The testimony of the Muhammadan writers is clear and unanimous that the earnings of the courtesans attached to the temples were surrendered into the hands of the priests or other administrative officials of the temple for defraying the expenses of worship.[35] The support extended by the government officials to the *Brāhmaṇa* and Vellala landlords for teasing and harassing the ninety-eight subjects of Idangai is very clearly recorded in an inscription found at Aduṭuṟai.[36] Prof. Sastri contradicts the above statement of his own by writing: "A special staff of officials (*Kāvalkaraṇs*) entrusted with this duty (security of property in the village to the extent of either recovering lost property or making it good), and maintained from the proceeds of a special cess ear-marked for the purpose, the *pāḍi-kāval-kuli* as it is sometimes called, formed a regular feature of the Cōḷa administrative system. In the later Cōḷa days, we find these duties increasingly falling into the hands of the over-grown vassals whose rise was a symptom of the imminent dissolution of

28. *Ibid*, 127 of 1912.
29. *AR*, 133 of 1912.
30. *Ibid*, 140 of 1912.
31. *Ibid*, 141 of 1912.
32. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 85.
33. *AR*, 1939-40, p. 239, 232 of 1939-40
34. *Ibid*, 296 of 1911.
35. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 363.
36. *Ibid*, p. 359.

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the empire. ..... Often an individual is found in possession the *pāḍi-kāval-kāṇi* of a whole *nāḍu*, if not of a wider area, and such an in vidual often gave expression to his vanity or piety by remitting the fee due fr the sacred property belonging to the temples, or requiring the temple authorit to burn lights or conduct festivals in the manner specified by him instead paying the fee. The Vaṇakōvaraiyas, Malaiyamāns, Muṭṭaraiyas, Śambuvarāy and Kāḍavarāyas all furnish instances of the practice sketched above." [37]

The inscriptions of the time of Rājarāja III refer to the *Rāja-drohins* an *Śiva-drohins* and how they were dealt with by the state. From a lithic recor dated in the 23rd year of Rājarāja III, we learn that the *Śiva-brāhmaṇa*s Tiruc chirrambala-bhaṭṭan and another accomplice (name lost), gave a jewel worn b the goddess to a concubine. Moreover when the servant claimed his due shar of food from the temple, these two people, with the aid on Maḷaiyalar an accountants, caught hold of him and with the idea of making a short work o him, put him in a solitary confinement in a cellar of the temple at Sri Māheśvar aṇaṭṭur. [38] False accounts were maintained by them by entering 2 *kaḷañju* o unguents as having been spent for a day while they used only ½ *kaḷañju* of it Besides growing delinquent to their services to the temple, they began to defy th order of the king and actually ill-treated those persons who brought the roya order by beating and ducking them in water and forcibly taking the order from them. Not content with this, they sold their lands and also the paddy stored in the temple by the priests Jñānaśiva-paṇḍita and Vighneśvara-paṇḍita They had also hidden the image of the god on the beam at the entrance. They even went to the extent of collecting 50,000 coins through the *Kannaḍiyas*. [39] Another inscription, dated in the sixth regnal year of Rājarāja III, states that Neḍuvayaḷuḍaiyan Udaiyan and Tirucchiṟṟambaḷamuḍaiyan Vanavanayakar took away and utilised as they pleased the images, ornaments and utensils of th temple. [40] A certain Aṇḍarāṇḍan with the help of others opened the coffers o the temple, mutilated the image of the god and mismanaged the temple lands. [41] The Gōviṇḍapuṭṭur inscription, dated in the sixteenth year of Kuḷōttunga III states that a garden of areca-palms was made a *dēvādāna* to the temple on the representation made to, and the sanction accorded by, Paḷaiyanuruḍaiyaṇ-Pallava-rāyan from the seventh year of Peṟiyadēvar Rājādhirājadēva (II); but in the fourteenth and the fifteenth years of the reign, Paḷuvūr-Aṇḍan, the manager of the temple, felled the trees for his own use, sold and gave some to his relatives and thus despoiled the land and deprived the temple of its revenue. He also

37. *Ibid*, pp. 336-37.
38. *AR*, 1926-27, p. 84.
39. *Ibid*.
40. *Ibid*, 308 of 1927.
41. *Ibid*, 225 of 1927, Part. II, p. 85.

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misappropriated the donations which had been collected by the trustees and others and deposited in the temple treasury. When the matter came up for enquiry, he ran away from his residence and on search being made, 40 *kalam* of paddy and some vessels belonging to the temple were found in his house.[42] A lithic record, dated in the fifteenth year of an unidentified Rājakēsarivarman records that a certain Nārāyaṇan Mādhavan one of the brothers of Tiṛutti and Nakkan who were evidently holders of temple lands, ran away without paying the fine imposed on him by village assembly. Thereupon the two brothers Tiṛutti and Nakkan were forced to sell all their rights in the lands owned by them, including those acquired by the latter through purchases from the surities of the defaulter. When a representation was made to the king regarding the unjust nature of this transaction, a royal order was issued, evidently to put the two brothers in possession of their lands.[43] In another inscription is recorded the misappropriation of the live stock belonging to a temple.[44] It would thus be clear that the unjust transactions transacted by the village assembly, the government officials backing "the enlightened land-lords" to promote social unrest and to exploit the unprivileged, accountants and other administrative officials of the temple misappropriating its property, *Śivadrohins* and *Rājadrohins* were not very rare in the Cōḷa period.

Regarding the position of cultivators and the tax paid by them to the Government, during the reign of Adhirājēndra, Prof. Sastri observes: "The cultivators had to give up in one way and another something well over 40% of the gross produce..... .....".[45] This clearly shows that the taxation was very heavy during the time of Adhirājēndra. During the Cōḷa peri d the taxes were collected not only by the state but also by the local bodies and other agencies of a communal or professional character. Besides the regular taxes and dues, occasional contributions were also levied for particular purposes by the local authorities. The power to levy and to collect taxes enjoyed by these local bodies, namely the village assembly, mercantile guilds, temples etc. often led to socio-economic tensions in the Cōḷa period. It is recorded in an inscription of the time of Kuḷōttunga I that the lands owned by some *Brāhmaṇa* tenants, who being unable to pay the taxes had resigned their lands and left the village, were sold to the temple of Tiṛucchenneṛi-Uḍaiyar at Tiṛucchiṛai.[46] In the 49th year of the same monarch a similar disposal was made of lands forfeited to the village assembly of Kōnēṛirājapuram by tenants who had deserted the village not being able to pay the taxes.[47] An inscription at Ukkal dated in the 24th year

42. *Ibid*, 1928-29, Part. II, p. 77.
43. *AR*, 1930-31, Part. II, p. 40.
44. *Ibid*, 543 of 1921.
45. Sastri K. A. N. *op.cit*, p. 335.
46. *AR*, 620 of 1909
47. *Ibid*, 647 of 1909.

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of Rājarāja I, registers the order of the king authorising the villagers "to c fiscate and sell the land on which no taxes had been paid for two full years' Some of the Cōḷa inscriptions found at Mannārguḍi state in unmistakable ter the oppressive and vexatious nature of the imposts levied on the people by state and sundry authorities and the consequent resolution taken by them abandon all cultivation until conditions improved.[49] Taxes were levied even cows and she-buffaloes.[50] It is very interesting to record in this connection th an amount of ¼ *poṉ* in the form of a death duty was collected in the Cōḷa period Instances of collecting taxes and other dues by adopting oppressive and unju methods are not altogether lacking in our period. In A.D. 1001 the milita (*paḍaiyiḷar*) subjected the people of Mahēndramaṇgaḷam to such sufferin (*veḍanai*) putting them in water and making them stand in the sun, that, unab to bear the treatment, they proceeded to Tanjavur with an escort to lay the matt before Rājarāja-mahārāja; and that the king remitted the matter again to th local officers.[52] It appears from the above information that even the king faile to check the oppressive methods adopted by the *paḍaiyiḷar*. It also reflects th enormous powers enjoyed by the local officials. In one way the socio-econom welfare of the people did not receive its due attention from the king and hi officials. Prof. Sastri instead of exposing this weakness of the Cōḷa administr tion simply states;" Supporting a man on the spot is evidently not so modern device in administration as we are apt to think."[53] But one may agree with Pro Sastri's statement that "in the early period of imperial Cōḷa rule, the rigou of collection occasionally tended to become oppressive in character, the peop were exposed, in later times, to another danger. This arose from the increasi autonomy of local chieftains who were no longer restrained by a powerful centr government and often resorted to oppressive fiscal methods. ..... should be noted that protests against unusual levies and successful attempts the part of the people to resist them by codifying the standard of normal fis practice are not unknown".[54]

The temple played a very important part in the history of mediaeval Sou India in general and that of the Cōḷa period in particular. The kings, queer *sāmantas*, *mahāsāmantas*, village assemblies, mercantile organisations and priva individuals donated profusely lands, villages, money, paddy, livestock, utensi jewels etc. to the temples. The majority of the Cōḷa inscriptions refer to the gi

48. *SII*, III, Part, I, p. 14.
49. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 343.
50. *Ibid*, p. 344.
51. *AR*, 156 of 1942-43.
52. Sastri K. A. N., *op.cit*, p. 341.
53. *Ibid*.
54. *Ibid*, pp. 342-44.

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of plots of land and sometimes the whole village. This affected the internal administration and gave them feudal dimensions. Prof. D. N. Jha in his interesting paper, viz. "*Temples as landed Magnets in Early Mediaeval South India*" exposed the feudal character of the temple.[55]

The feudal character of a temple in the Cōḷa period owes a great deal to *dēvādāna* gifts of land. That these endowments were made in perpetuity is indicated by the frequent occurrence of imprecatory verses at the end of the charters. The temples thus became rich land-owning institutions. They could not have cultivated all their lands directly which perhaps led to the practice of leasing them to tenants. There are several inscriptions which testify that the temples actually leased out their land to tenants during the period under our consideration.[56] This gave rise to feudal agrarian relations leading in turn to the depression of the peasantry. Prof. D. N Jha rightly points out, "The decline of the peasantry in early mediaeval South India may have been caused to a certain extent by the fiscal concessions which accumulated the gifts of land and villages to temples. .... Since the *parihāra*s indicate exemption from the payment of taxes originally payable to the state and the transfer of various land rights of the king to the donees, an increase in their number suggests a correspondingly heavier burden of taxes which the people may have found difficult to pay".[57]

Many inscriptions of the Cōḷa period refer to the practice of levying fresh imposts from the local inhabitants for the maintenance of various festivals of a temple.[58] That these new levies which were collected from the people indirectly increased the total weight of taxation which in its turn caused greater economic subjection of the peasants. The judicial powers enjoyed by the temples and their intervention in the general administration would have even weakened the central authority.[59] It has been suggested by some that the temples played a very significant part "in fostering superstition and restricting social and cultural mobility. The temple stood for status quo, and its role in keeping the large majority of the landless labour harmless, "content" or blissfully ignorant of the fact of exploitation is yet to be examined".[60]

It would thus be clear from the above discussion that the social conflicts and jealousies between the right and left hand castes, curtailment of socio-economic mobility and freedom, exploitation of the unprivileged by the "enlightened

55. *ISHP*, pp. 202 ff.
56. *SII*, III, No. 281A; *AR*, 409 of 1929-30; 388 of 1924; *SII*, XVII, No. 624; 578 of 1904; 429 of 1909.
57. *ISHP*, p. 212.
58. *AR*, 167 of 1910; 21 of 1908;198 of 1925.
59. *ISHP*, pp. 213 ff.
60. *Ibid*, p. 153.

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land-owners", lack of equitable distribution of the incidence of taxation, rel ous institutions and local bodies levying and collecting fresh imposts from economically weak peasants, despotic and deceitful behaviour of the governm officials and temple authorities, misappropriation of the public property, wea ness of the central government, etc. are not altogether absent in the Cōḷa peri where there existed according to Prof. Sastri, "a wonderful social harmo based, not on equality of classes or individuals, but on a readiness to give a take, a mutual good will that had its roots deep down at the foundations communal life".[61]

61. Sastri K. A. N. *op.cit*, p. 349.

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PREKṢAṆAKA: A TEMPLE-DRAMA

By

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The ancient belief that the God is more pleased by dramatic performances than by any other form of worship finds its expression not only in religious texts but also in dramaturgy. Bharata says in his Nāṭya-Śāstra: 'The Gods are never so pleased on being worshipped with scents and garlands, as they are delighted with the performance of drama! The drama is equated with Yajña. Bharata further says: 'Who witness the performance (of drama) will attend the same goal which the masters of Vedic path and masters of Vedic lore, the performers of sacrifices or the givers of the gifts, will attain'.

Right from the time when drama was of a ritualistic stage, it was a part of the worship. Several references in the literary traditions of India, ever since the Vedas, confirm the statement. However, the first significant, though not the earliest, evidence about the presentation of regular drama in a temple comes from Muni Vātsyāyana's famous work, the Kāma-Sūtra.

In the 'Nāgaraka-Vṛtta-Prakaraṇa' of the Kāma-Sūtra, he advises the Nāgaraka, a cultured man of the city, to organise a Samāja in the temple of Goddess Sarasvatī on an auspicious day. He further says that the actors (Kuśīlavas) who may have come to the town may be requested to present a play (Prekṣaṇaka) and on the following day some reward should be given to them. They may also be retained for the next day, if their earlier performance is approved by the audience. Likewise, festive gatherings with dramatic performances may be held in the honour of different deities in their respective temples.

It would be interesting to examine the theatrical terms in the above passage in the light of literary and epigraphical evidences in order to trace the tradition of presenting plays in temples. The Samāja festival mentioned by the author of Kāma-Sūtra is of great antiquity. Though, in the course of time, it had acquired different forms, it is basically a gay festival replete with theatrical entertainments. Actors, dancers, singers, bards, story-tellers, wrestlers, mimers, instrumentalists, magicians used to flock to the festival to earn money. It is mentioned in the famous Khārawela inscription of Hāthī Gumphā in Orissa, and even earlier in the rock edicts of Aśoka. Organising a Samāja in the temple in honour of deities was a long standing custom. In *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, we find Lord Kṛṣṇa organising a Samāja in honour of Bilvodakeśvar Śiva. Kauṭilya has said in his Artha-Śāstra that a Samāja should be organised in temples (Daivata Caitya). When Vātsyāyana is speaking of organising a Samāja festival in the temples, he is only following a tradition deeply rooted in the past.

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Another important term in the passage is Prekṣaṇaka. Prekṣaṇaka mea dramatic performance. The word Prekṣa is also used in similar manner in earl literature. Buddhaghoṣa has equated the word with Naṭa-Samājjam. Prekṣa Pekkham (in Pālī) is mentioned in the Brahma Jala Sūtta of Dīgha Nikāy Though many writers like Weber, Neumann, Burnouf agree that Pekkham he means theatrical presentation, T. W. Rhys Davis denies the fact; stating 'it most unlikely that the theatre was already known in the fifth century B.C Here Rhys Davis is forgetting the fact that the Indian theatre is as old as t Vedas. Association of actors with Prekṣa also proves that it means nothin other than theatrical representation.

Prekṣa is not only dancing or singing or playing on musical instruments a these things are separately mentioned in the Nikāya passage. Kauṭilya and Manu have also used the word Prekṣa to denote theatrical representation. Kauṭilya mentions two kinds of Prekṣa-s : Strī Prekṣa, performance by female actors and Puruṣa Prekṣa, performance by male actors. He says that every person in the village should contribute to see the Prekṣa. The person, who does not pay, should not be allowed to attend the show. If the miscreant tries to see the show secretly, a double contribution should be recovered from him. Such was the social sanction. Manu clearly establishes the connection of Prekṣa with Samāja by using these words together. He prescribes a certain fine for the lady who attends the Prekṣasamāja without the permission of her husband. Thieves, according to Manu, move secretly in the crowds assembled to attend the Samāja and to watch the Prekṣa. Hence, the king should look for them there.

The relation of the Prekṣa or the Prekṣaṇaka, the Samāja and Temple i clear from the above-mentioned references from the literary tradition of India There was a practice of organising the Samāja in honour of the deities in th temple where actors were invited to present the Prekṣaṇaka. Now, does thi mean that the Prekṣaṇaka was a kind of temple drama to be presented on festiv occasions before the deities ?

If we turn to the works like the Sāhitya Darpaṇa or the Nāṭya Darpaṇ for understanding the nature of the Prekṣaṇaka, we find it enlisted under th category Upa-Rūpaka, the froms of drama other than the ten main division described by Bharata, and latter by Dhanañjaya, in Nāṭya Śāstra and Daśarūpaka respectively. But, in both the works, there is nothing to indicate its connectio with temple theatre. According to Sāhtiya Darpaṇa, the Prekṣaṇaka or Preṅkhaṇ is a one-act play without any Viṣkaṁbhakas and the Praveśakas. The Sūtradhār is absent ; the Nāndī is sung in Nepathya. Full of battles and the exchange o angry words, it has a hero of a lower social position. All the Vṛtti-s are possible Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra in their Nāṭya Darpaṇa define Prekṣaṇaka as a pla presented in a lane or at the Samāja festival or at a Madyaśālā bar or at a

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place where the roads meet. It has many kinds of dramatic characters. Viśwanāth explains the literary character of the play while Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra indicate the places where it is staged. The latter significantly relates the Prekṣaṇaka with the Samāja festival. As a part of the Samāja festival, it might have been some relation with temple theatre. However, from the description of the Prekṣaṇaka and the mention of the places where it is staged, it looks more like a folk drama. Jaya Senāpati in his Nṛttaratnāvalī, and 12th Century Jaina Writer Pārśvadeva in his 'Saṅgīta-Samaya-Sāra' has actually included Prekhaṇa in the list of Deśī (folk) Nṛtya. The descriptions therin indicate that it was a vigorous dance full of jumps and wheeling movements. Saṅgītamuktāvalī of Devana says that it is performed by male and female dancers accompanied by songs and music. But they are describing a dance form-not a drama. 'Kāma Dahana' and 'Balibadha' are the names of the Prekṣaṇaka plays mentioned by the authors of Sāhitya Darpaṇa and Nāṭya Darpaṇa respectively. These plays are not available but from the titles we may infer that the themes of these plays must have been religious. Sten Konow tends to include the Prekṣaṇaka in the category 'Aṅka' (one-act play). As in the third act of Bālarāmāyaṇa, a playlet within a play is called Prekṣaṇaka. Unmattarāghava of Bhāskara Kavi is described as Prekṣaṇaka. It is a drama in one act, depicting as episode in Rāma's life. The play was staged before the 'assamblage of people, which came to pay homage to Vidyāraṇya There is one Prekṣaṇaka which, for certain, we know, was presented in the temple. It is the Kṛṣṇābhyudaya of Lokanāth Bhaṭṭa. Konow informs us that it was composed for the Vārṣikayātrā, the annual festival, of Śrihastigirinātha, of Viṣṇu in Kāñchī. This clearly relates the Prekṣaṇaka with temple theatre. So, here again, we can see the clear relation of the Prekṣaṇaka with the Samāja (as stated by Rāmacandra-Guṇacandra) and the festivals in the temples.

We can further strengthen our thesis with the help of the epigraphical evidence that is available to us. I am quoting below from the famous tenth century 'Bayana Inscription' of Citralekhā :

> "Good fortune, beauty, kingdom, emancipation and abode in heaven cannot be obtained without worshipping Viṣṇu."
>
> "Having thought of this for a long time and having found that everything on the earth (as well as) beauty, body (and) life are transient, she, Citralekhā, the chaste and of esteemed character caused to be made this temple of Viṣṇu with a crest jewel shaped as a golden egg and which was ..(adrorned with ?) flags."
>
> "(The girls) who with armlets, shining necklaces, jewelled anklets and bracelets of gold (and also) with the girdles of gold appear like so many wishing creepers (Kalpa Latā)".

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"Owing to the temptation of seeing them, the Enemy of Madhu d not leave his own image even for a moment nor does he now remem heavenly damsels like Raṁbhā and others.

"The *Prekṣaṇakam* (show) given by these ladies whose eyes are l petals of lotus flower, whose hips are heavy and whose faces are like moon were arranged by her."

In the 27th Canto of the Ekādaśa Skaṅdha of The Bhāgavata Purāṇa while relating the importance of the religion of Bhāgavata and the Bhakti cult t Uddhava, Lord Kṛṣṇa says that on auspicious days, if possible daily, God shoul propitiated with singing, dancing and presenting before him dramatised versio of his līlā-s, episodes from his incarnations. Here, Citralekhā is seen acting upo the advice of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Devadāsīs, as beautiful as Raṁbhā, were attached to the temple to present a Prekṣaṇaka, a Līlā play. It looks like the 'Strī Prekṣa' of the Artha-Śāstra. Devadāsīs presenting religious plays is a common custom in temples all over India. Not only that, there is an instance of Devadāsīs contributing generously for the construction of Nāṭakaśālā, a temple theatre, to facilitate the presentation of plays to please the deities. One such Nāṭakaśālā was built between 1795 to 1800 A.D. in the Sucindram Temple by the Devadāsīs attached to the temple. The beautiful figures of the donor—Devadāsīs are carved on the pillars of the Nāṭakaśālā. The temple dancers used to present a play, Sāraṅgadhara, on Mahāśivarātrī day. This is nothing else than a continuation of the tradition of presenting Prekṣaṇaka-s in the temples as stated by Citralekhā in her epigraph. As we have seen, there is a religious sanction behind this tradition. Again in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, it is stated that villages towns should be gifted away to the temples to enable them to bear the expenditure of maintaining dancing girls for presenting plays. The Anavada Stone Inscription of Sāraṅgadeva (Vikrama Saṁvat 1348) records the 'gifts for worship offerings and theatricals before Lord Kṛṣṇa'. The 7th line of the inscription reads:

"(Śrī (Kṛ)ṣṇapadānāṁ (Pū)jā Naivedya
Prekṣaṇaka Nimittam .....

Here again the temple plays are described as Prekṣaṇaka. A Jalore Stone inscription of Samarasiṁhadeva mentions the construction of a Prekṣa Maṇḍapa probably a hall for presenting Prekṣaṇakas. We may summarise from the above mentioned literary and epigraphical evidences that the Prekṣaṇaka was a one-act plays, a Līlā play, with themes from the epics and *Purāṇa*s glorifying the particular deity or its acts. These plays were presented by the company of actors visiting the temple or by the dancing girls attached to the temple itself. Sometimes local courtesans are seen presenting plays at temples as seen in Ubhayasārikā Bhāṇa and the Kuṭṭinīmatam Kāvyam. We find a continuous tradition

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of presenting plays, Prekṣaṇaka-s in the temples right from the fourth century B.C. or even earlier. Operatic dance dramas like the Kuravanji, Bhāgavata Melā, Kucipudi which flourished in temples are offshoots of the Prekṣaṇaka tradition. The Līlā plays of North India or the Yakṣagāna and Daśāvatāra of the south could claim this tradition. Aṅkīya Naṭa, a one-act-play tradition of Assam started by the famous Vaiṣṇava poet-dramatist Śaṅkaradeva answers the description of the Prekṣaṇaka to such an extent that we may say that the Aṅkīya Naṭa is nothing but as Assamese version of the Prekṣaṇaka which is presented in the monasteries Namghars of Assam. The Kudiattam plays presented in temple theatres of Kerala are one act plays. An act from a full fledged Sanskrit drama is selected for presentation. Though its performance spreads over several days, it's basic unit is an 'Aṅka'. From the various inscriptions of the Orrisan temples, we could infer that the tradition of presenting plays in the temples by the Devadāsīs was prevalent there also. In fact, the great Jagannātha temple of Puri was a centre of theatrical activities for many centuries. Thus, the Prekṣaṇaka tradition flourished through the length and breadth of the country acquiring different local names during the passage of time.

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SAINT SUDĀMĀ OF GUJARAT: SHOULD THE HOLY BE WEALTH

By

FRANCOISE MALLISON, Paris

The legendary saint Sudāmā appears anonymously in the tenth book of *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (chs. 80, 81): Sudāmā was a Brāhmaṇa and a fellow disci of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, both had been studying together with Kṛṣṇa's elder brother, Ba rāma, in the *āśrama* of Guru Sāṃdīpani in Avantī. Later, as a household Sudāmā fell into dire poverty, largely brought about by his own detachment fr worldly things. Sudāmā's desperate wife finally requested him to call upon friend Kṛṣṇa, now king of Dvārakā. Though he was determined not to beg beloved God for any favour, Sudāmā consented to go as the trip would provi him with a good chance to enjoy once more the *darśana* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Dvārakā, Sudāmā was granted a wonderful welcome, yet all he could offer as present to his divine host was a handful of parched rice. Moved by his o friend's humble love, the merciful Kṛṣṇa bestowed on him, for a mouthful rice, enough wealth to feed the whole world—but he kept his gift secret. Ov whelmed with happiness at having met Kṛṣṇa again, Sudāmā departed. As reached home, instead of the poor hut he had left, he found a wonderful pal overflowing with riches.

Sudāmā belongs to the group of great Purāṇic saints whose names are d to all Vaiṣṇavas: together with Prahlāda, Ajāmila, Ambarīṣa and Dhruva, h listed in the *Bhaktamāla* among the great bhaktas of the first three yugas.[1] M

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* This is the first part of a study on Sudāmā in Gujarat-Saurashtra (Gujarāta-Saurāṣ The second part (to appear) will deal with the cult of Sudāmā in Porbandar-Sudāmā (Porabandara-Sudāmāpurī). I am grateful to Prof. Charlotte Vaudeville for her sugges and helpful criticism and to Dr. Ian Raeside for his corrections on the manuscript. following abbreviations are used :

BhP. : *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (E. Burnouf, *Le Bhâgavata purâna ou histoire poétique de Kric* traduit et publié par E. Burnouf, Vol. 1 à 5, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1840-1898 (the sec part of book Xth, book XIth and book XIIth are only translated without edition); Gītā P edition with English translation by G. L. Goswami, Gorkhapur, 1971; Nirṇayasāgara Press tion, Bombay, 1894;

Maj. : M. R. Majmudar, *Mahākavi Premānanda tathā bijā āṭha kavionāṁ Sudāmā-ca* (Baroda, 1922);

GSI. 2 : U. Joshi, A. Raval and Y. Shukla, ed. *Gujarātī Sāhityano Itihāsa,* Vo (Ahmedabad, 1976).

1 In the *Bhaktamāla* of Nābhāji (c. 1600 A.D., Hindi), Lucknow 4th ed. 1 Prahlāda pp. 65-67, Ajāmila pp. 69-71, Ambarīṣa pp. 91-102, Sudāmā pp. 104-109, Dh pp. 123-125. See Grierson, " *Gleanings from the Bhakta-Māla* ", *Journal of the Royal A Society* (London), 1909, pp. 97, 101f. and 1910, pp. 269-306. These great devotees of an

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celebrated among them is Sudāmā.[2] The passage in the *BhP*. seems to be the first known account of the story of Sudāmā (book Xth, second part *uttarārdha*, chapters 80, 81).[3] But, as usual in the *BhP*, the story exalts the generosity of Kṛṣṇa towards a friend, a devotee and a brahmin, rather than the friend himself whose qualities receive due attention however, but whose story is told only to teach that the almighty lord Viṣṇu took lessons from a guru in order to show the right path to his devotees (*BhP*, X. 80. 31-45) and that, exemplarily, he becomes the faithful servant of a brahmin (*BhP*, X. 81. 16, 39, 41). Thus, the topic in the *BhP* is rather different from the one dealt with almost exclusively in the medieval *Sudāmā-caritra*s of the vernaculars : the rewards of holiness right in the present life. Indeed, the author of the story in the *BhP* puts the accent less on the rewards obtained by the devotee than on the fact that Kṛṣṇa's generosity produces a stronger attachment to God.[4]

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times are sometimes held by the medieval hagiographers to be previous incarnations of some of the historical devotees belonging to the *Kali yuga* (the fourth and present era). For instance, Dhruva is supposed to be reincarnated in Narasiṁha Mahetā, the Gujarati poet-saint of the XVIth century, according to the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* (III.4.17.v. 42-46). See also M. Biardeau, " *Bhakti et Avatāra* (*Etudes de Mythologie Hindoue IV, chapitre II*) ", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extrême-Orient*, LXIII (1976), p. 118.

2 Prahlāda comes as a closed second in vernacular Vaiṣṇava literature. The story of Prahlāda which concerns the fourth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, Narasiṁha (Viṣṇu *avatāra* as a man-lion), illustrates the perfect devotion of a young bhakta. On the evolution of the story of Prahlāda in the Purāṇas, see P. Hacker, *Prahlāda, Werden und Wandlungen einer Idealgestalt* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 253 pp. in 2 Vols.

3 The name of Sudāmā does not appear in the text of the *BhP* nor even in the colophons of the chapters 80 and 81 which usually give the name of Śrīdāmā as in the Gītā Press edition, Vol. II, (Gorakhpur, 1971), p. 1422 : " *iti ...Śridāmacarite'śititamo'dhyāyaḥ* "; again the name of Śrīdāmā appears in the colophons of the editions of the Nirṇayasāgara Press (Bombay 1894), of A. V. Narasiṁhācārya (Madras, 1912), D. Sāṃvaḷārāma (Bombay, 1918)....The oldest known manuscript of the *BhP* (XIVth-XVth century) of Kashmiri origin and liable to preserve a much older tradition does not give any name neither in the text nor in the colophons (see H. Bechert, ed., *The Bhāgavatapurāṇa, the birch bark manuscript in the State and University library in Göttingen* (New Delhi, 1976), p. 749-755). Burnouf gives only the translation; no names appear, even in the colophons of chapters 80 and 81 : " *Légende des grains de riz écrasés* ". Another tradition, mainly pertaining to South India, gives the name of Kucaila, " *the one in rags* "; Kucaila is an epithet of Sudāmā and his wife in *BhP*, X.80.7 and 25. On this epithet see S. Chitrao, *Bhāratavarṣiya Prācinacaritrakośa* (Poona, 1964), p. 144; see also the South Indian commentaries of the *BhP* by Vīrarāghava (*Bhāgavatacandrikā*) and by Narasiṁhācārya (or Kṛṣṇaguru) (*Munibhāvaprakāśikā*) which give the title of the story as *Kucelopākhyānam*.

4 Content of chapters X.80, 81 of *BhP* (Burnouf, V, pp. 146-153; Gītā Press, II, pp. 1418-1426) : King Parīkṣita asks for the tale of Kṛṣṇa's deeds as one's whole being ought to be consecrated to him (*ch.* 80, *v.* 1-5). Śuka gives an account of the virtues and the poverty of the brahmin friend of Kṛṣṇa (*v.* 6, 7). The wife of the brahmin asks her husband to pay a visit to his wealthy friend (*v.* 8-12). The brahmin finally agrees, if only to have Kṛṣṇa's *darśana*. His wife prepares the gift consisting of a few grains of parched rice (*v.* 12-14). The

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Sudāmā's legend has been told many times in most Indo-Aryan vernacul Braj (*Braja*), Gujarati (*Gujarātī*), Bengali (*Baṅgālī*) and Marathi (*Marāṭh* It is in Gujarat, however, more than anywhere else, that Sudāmā stands a great favourite among all Vaiṣṇava saints. A reason for this may be found the belief that Sudāmā was a resident of Gujarat: he is now supposed to ha hailed from Porbandar on the southern coast of Saurāṣṭra, a town also known Sudāmāpurī.[6] The rise of Sudāmāpurī as a place of pilgrimage may well ha

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brahmin leaves worrying whether he will be able to see Kṛṣṇa. He is received splendidly spite of his miserable appearance noted as peculiar in Kṛṣṇa's surroundings (*v.* 15-26). two friends recall childhood memories and exchange news (*v.* 27-30). Kṛṣṇa praises the impo ance of the Guru (*v.* 31-34); he quotes as an example his and his friend's conduct when, order to bring back fuel wood to their master, they courageously faced a thunderstorm in t forest (*v.* 35-42). The brahmin is well aware of the fact that Kṛṣṇa's education at his gur was part of his *līlā* (*v.* 43-45). *Chapter* 81 : Kṛṣṇa asks for his gift and remarks that the val of the present lies in the intention of the giver (*v.* 1-4). The brahmin, however, is sorry f the humbleness of his gift (*v.* 5). Kṛṣṇa guesses the embarrassing situation of his friend as w as the object of his visit and decides on a reward (*v.* 6, 7). Kṛṣṇa takes the rice and swallo handful. His wife Śrī stops him from having another, as she considers sufficient the rewa of the first : ' to enjoy fully every happyness in this world and in the next ' (*v.* 8-11). the following day the brahmin leaves for home, he muses on Kṛṣṇa's splendid reception which he was unworthy himself, but granted to him because he was a brahmin. Not havi asked for anything, he is happy and concludes that according to divine wisdom wealth wou only corrupt his poor character (*v.* 12-20). At home he discovers nothing but wealth a beauty. His wife looking a beautiful goddess leads him into a palace, his house (*v.* 21-3 The brahmin understands Kṛṣṇa's secret gift, but he is already beyond the pleasure it co provide. The generosity of Kṛṣṇa the ' friend of the brahmins ', only leads Sudāmā to stron devotion, to final salvation (*v.* 32-41).

5 For a list of *Sudāmā-caritra* in Hindi and Braj, see S. Tivari, *Hindī ke Madhyakā Khaṇḍakāvya* (Delhi, 1964), pp. 417-419, and in Gujarati, see S. Oza, *Madhyakālina Guja Ākhyāna* (Ahmedabad, 1969), p. 193. D. C. Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Litera* (Calcutta, 1911), p. 225, mentions three Bengali *Sudāma-caritras*.

In Marathi, besides Cakradhara's *Sudāmadeva Kājyapradāna-kathana*, a Mahānubhā rendering of the story in Old Marathi prose of XIIIth-XIVth century, (ed. S. G. Tulp *Śricakradhara nirūpita Śrikṛṣṇacaritra* (Poona, 1973), pp. 132f.), another Mahānubhāva auth Gopāḷadāsa, wrote a *Sudāmā-caritra*, see S. G. Tulpule, *Mahānubhāva Pantha āṇi Tyāce Vāṅm* (Poona, 1976), p. 219; other Marathi versions are composed by Nāmadeva, Ekanātha a Kaceśvara, see S. Oza, *op. cit.*, p. 99 n.1.; a Marathi " *Sudhāma-caritram* " (*sic*) by " Tukā svāmī " (*sic*) (Santa Tukārāma?) written in the *Ovi* meter is mentioned in S. Kuppuswa Sastri, *A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts* 1913-14 to 1915-16 (Madras, Government Orie Manuscripts Library, n.d.), Vol. II, 1, Sanskrit B, p. 1952, (R.n.1438b); for Vāmana Paṇḍ see no. 27. There are also two editions in Bombay (in 1847 and a lithography in 1862) of anonymous Marathi *Sudāmā-caritra*. A *Sudāmā-caritra*, by Kiṅkara Kavi, is published *Kāvyetihāsa-saṅgraha*, Vol. VIII, nos. 3-5 (Poona, 1878 etc....).

6 The *BhP* (X. 80-81) does not say where Sudāmā lived, but medieval authors usu mention Avantī (Ujjain) because of Sāṃdīpani's *āśrama* there (*BhP* X. 45), as for insta Jagannātha in his *Sudāmo* (1704 A.D.) : " *nāma Sudāmo māharuṃ nagara Ujeṇi ṭhāṃ* (ed. *Maj.* v. 38, p. 128).

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been the outcome of saint Sudāmā's popularity. Medieval accounts of his life in Gujarati provide a clue to his prestige in Gujarat as his particular brand of holiness and its results take the line of Gujarati Vaiṣṇavism.

The Sudāmā-caritra Literature in Gujarati :

The best-known compositions of this type in Gujarati are the *Sudāmā -caritra* of Narasiṁha Mahetā (1414-1480 A.D.), also known as *Sudāmājinā Kedārā*,[7] supposed to be the earliest, and the *Sudāmā-caritras* of Premānanda, composed between 1675-1691 A.D. (V. S. 1732-1748). They are the two poles of the evolution of Sudāmā hagiography.[8]

Though all *Sudāmā-caritras* seem to have their source in the account of the *BhP*, some appear as an episode in Gujarati adaptations of the *BhP*, whereas others are independent compositions of the *ākhyāna* type.[9] To the first type belong the *Sudāmā kathā* of Bhīma (1484 A.D.)[10] and the *Sudāmā-caritra* of Bhālāṇa (1494-1544 A.D.).[11] contemporary of a *Sudaāmā-sāra* of Soma (1500 A.D. ?).[12]

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7 Some manuscripts and editions also show the title of "*Sudāmānāṁ Prabhātiyāṁ*". see M. P. Desai, *Kavi Premānanda ane Narsiṁha kṛta Sudāmācarita*, 3rd ed. (Ahmedabad, 1970), p. 117 and J. F. Blumhardt, *Catalogue of the Marathi, Gujarathi, Bengali.... Manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum* (London, 1905), Gujarati manuscripts section p. 31 (ms. no. : 51, part V). Generally speaking, *padas* in the *jhūlaṇā* metre will be sung at dawn, whereas the mention of *rāga kedāra* seems to suggest a nighttime performance.

8 They were edited many times, sometimes both together : Desai, M. P. *Kavi Premānanda ane Narsiṁha kṛta Sudāmācarita*, 3rd ed. (Ahmedabad, Gujarāta Vidyāpīṭha, 1970) and Adhvaryu V., Patel S. and Desai, H. *Kavi Premānanda-kṛta ane Narasiṁha Mahetā-kṛta Sudāmācarita*, 3rd ed. (Ahmedabad, 1975). Premānanda's text is edited by M. R. Majmudar in *Mahākavi Premānanda tathā bījā aṭha kavionāṁ Sudāmācaritra* (Baroda, 1922), p. 1-29. The editor gives Narasiṁha Mehtā's version in the second appendix, pp. 110-113. Another edition of Premānanda's work is : I. R. Dave and C. S. Trivedi, *Kavi Premānanda-kṛta Sudāmā-carita* (Surat, 1963). The *Sudāmā-caritra* of Narasiṁha Mahetā is edited in I. S. Desai, *Ādi-bhakta-kavi Narasiṁha Mehatā kṛta Kāvyasaṅgraha* (Bombay, Gujarātī Printing Press, 1913), p. 157-161.

9 An *ākhyāna* in Gujarati literature is either a translation or a transposition or an adaptation, of an episode taken from the Purāṇas or the Epics, composed in stanzas of varying length, called '*kaḍavuṁ*' or '*ḍhāḷa*' and preceded by a refrain called '*valaṇa*' or '*uthalo*'.

10 Bhīma's version appears in the *Harilīlāṣoḍaśakalā*, an adaptation of Bopadeva (or Vopadeva)'s *Harilīlāmṛta* (or *Harilīlaviveka*), a Sanskrit summary of the *BhP*, *Kaḷā* 14, v. 67-80; Bhīma's account is rather short and it does not contribute any special features to the development of the Sudāmā theme. It is edited by I. S. Desai, *Bṛhat kāvya-dohana*, Vol. IV. (Bombay, 1890), pp. 138f., and in *Maj.* pp. 153f.

11 Bhālaṇa's account appears as an episode of his *Daśamaskandha* (Gujarati rendering of the 10th book of the *BhP*), *padas* 459-468, ed. in *Maj.* pp. 114-122.

12 Ed. in *Maj.* pp. 105-109.

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In the *ākhyāna* style, the first composition is the *Sudāmā-caritra* o Narasiṁha Mahetā. Then follow the *Sudāmāpurī* of Kūvaradāsa (1564 A.D.),[13] the *Sudāmā-caritra* of Viṣṇudāsa (1603 A.D),[14] the *Sudāmā-caritra* of Kṛṣṇadāsa son of Śivadāsa (1616 A.D.),[15] the *Sudāmā ākhyāna* of Gaṅgādāsa and anothe *Sudāmā-caritra* by the same author,[16] all of which are unpublished. Next come Premānanda's *Sudāmā-caritra* which is the best work in this group Later work such as the *Sudāmo* composed by Jagannātha, son of Damodara,[17] *Sudāmā kathā* (1636 A.D.) by Sundara, son of Dhanadāsa[18] and the *Sudāmāpurī* b Motīrāma (1734 A D. ?)[19] are nothing more than insipid imitations.

Narasiṁha Mahetā's Sudāmā-caritra :

On the whole, the nine *pada*s which compose Narasiṁha Mahetā's *Sudāmā caritra* constitute a fairly faithful rendering of the legend as told in the *BhP* Emphasis is laid on the sincere feelings of the poor bhakta, but above all on the love of Kṛṣṇa for his friend and devotee.[20] However, in Narasiṁha's account,

13 Shastri, K. K. *Gujarātī Hāthapratonī Saṅkalita Yādī* (*sane* 1937 *sudhīnī*) (Ahmedabad, Gujarat Vernacular Society, 1937), p. 20, proposes to attribute the authorship to Nākara, another famous contemporary writer of *ākhyāna*.

14 See Oza, S. *Madhyakālīna Gujarātī Ākhyāna* (Ahmedabad, 1969), p. 201; concerning the doubtful genuineness of its authorship see K. K. Shastri, *Kavi-carita*, part I-II, 2nd ed (Ahmedabad, 1952), p. 348, and *GSI* 2, p. 450.

15 Shastri, K. K. *Saṅkalita Yādī*, *op. cit.*, p. 22. This unpublished manuscript is date S. 1685 (1628 A.D.), i.e. only 12 years after the composition of the work.

16 Shastri, K. K. *op. cit.*, p. 27, and Oza, S. *op. cit.*, p. 202; the mss. are dated 16 A.D. and 1659 A.D.

17 Ed. *Maj.* pp. 123-132; the ms. is dated 1704 A.D. It is not sure whether Jagannāth was a successor or a predecessor of Premānanda. See *Maj*, Introduction, p. 36 on the da of the *Sudāmā*; according to P. Bhatt, Jagannātha is a contemporary of Premānanda, cf. *GSI* 2 p. 510.

18 Ed. *Maj.* pp. 135-146; Sundara might have been one of the pupils of Premānand with whom he is said to have collaborated in the composition of a *Daśamaskandha* (*kaḍavā* 193-194), ed. I. S. Desai, *Bhaṭa Vallabha tathā Bhaṭa Premānanda ane Sundara Mevāḍā kṛ Pada-bandha Śrīmadbhāgavata*, 4th ed. (Bombay, Gujarātī Printing Press, 1927). See Jhaver K. M. *Milestones in Gujarati Literature* (Bombay, 1938), pp. 96f.

19 Ed. *Maj.* pp. 147-151 and Desai, I. S. *Bṛhat Kāvya-dohano*, Vol. VII (Bombay, 1911) pp. 742-746. Cf. Oza S. *op. cit.*, p. 203. To these medieval compositions may be added th *Sudāmā-caritra* of Bhagavānadāsa (XVIIth century), but its language is more Hindi tha Gujarati, cf. *GSI* 2, p. 464. Modern authors also narrated Sudāmā's story : Sundaram *Uttara Sudāmācarita*; Upendracarya, *Sudāmākhyāna* (Baroda, 1928); Karsandas Manek, se Oza, S. *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 131, and *GSI* 2, p. 516. There is also a drama by V. Y. Avasath (1876-1941), *Sudāmā-caritra*, 2nd ed. (Bhavanagar, 1919).

20 The feelings of friendship as the best expression of god's love for his devotee is th original contribution of Narasiṁha to the theme, according to Umashankar Joshi in his articl " *Narasiṁhanuṁ Sudāmācaritra* : " *mitra* " *ādhārita saṅghaṭaka tatva* ", *Sanskṛti* 28, 1 (1974) pp. 9-13, article reproduced in *GSI* 2, pp. 110-117. Yet, the images and the wording o Narsiṁha's *Sudāmā-caritra* often seem more akin to the XVIIth century *ākhyāna* style tha to his other *padas* dealing with *bhakti*.

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Sudāmā does not reach the heights of perfection delineated in the *BhP*, especially in the matter of detachment. In the *Purāṇa*, Sudāmā rejoices in his own poverty and wretchedness : to be deprived of wealth, in his eyes, is indeed a boon granted by God to his devotee (*BhP*, X. 81. 20). The splendid welcome he is granted in Dvāraka, he attributes solely to Kṛṣṇa's love for brahmins, whereas he views himself a vile sinner and destitute (*BhP*, X. 81. 16). It is just because his God happens to be the 'spouse of Lakṣmī' the Goddess of wealth that he bestows wealth on his devotee together with his grace (*BhP*, X. 80. 9-10). Sudāmā's wife also understands it in this way when she acknowledges : "But the wealth and the pleasures enjoyed by the Guru of the world are not those which one desires most" (*BhP*, X. 80. 12). Narasiṁha Mahetā's Sudāmā is a little less high souled : he complains like an ordinary man that Kṛṣṇa did not sympathize with his wretched poverty ; not only did he not grant him any relief, but he tore his poor worn-out *dhotī* while embracing him, without caring to replace it ! (5.5 and 8.4). In the concluding *pada*, Narasiṁha Mahetā shifts the emphasis from scorn for material well-being as a danger to spiritual fulfilment, to the exaltation of the beneficial effects of Kṛṣṇa's grace on the well-being of his devotees. Material poverty is no longer viewed as the mark of the elect for it is merely the effect of bad *karma*. But legitimate prosperity, new youth, even a thoroughly rejuvenated wife (seven to nine years old !, 9.6) are the material consequences of his having obtained the purifying *darśana* of Śri Kīṛṣṇa and gained his favour.

In the *BhP*, the lavishness of the gifts bestowed on the poor brahmin leads him to a deeper understanding of God's grace (*BhP*, X.81.34-41), so that 'the devotee of Bhagavat untied.. the knot which fastened down his soul, and soon he succeeded in sharing the abode of Bhagavat and the fate of the saints' (*BhP*, X.81.40), whereas in Narasiṁha Mahetā's poem the material benefits granted to Sudāmā are a natural outcome of his genuine devotion and constitute in themselves a testimony to his spiritual achievement. Wealth appears no longer as a danger to the spiritual life, but as both the reward and the proof of sincere *bhakti*. One must admit that Narasiṁha's touching up of the *BhP* story was probably more in keeping with popular sentiment and, at any rate, it made Sudāmā a more human and imitable sort of saint. Linking devotion with material prosperity is a common aspiration—all the more so in Gujarat where the mercantile profession is an exalted one and where the bulk of the Vaiṣṇavas are drawn from well-to-do merchant castes.

Soma's Sudāmā-āra :

Less famous is the *Sudāmāsāra* by Soma.[21] The text has come down through a single undated manuscript : its language points to the XVth century.[22]

21 Ed. *Maj.* pp. 105-109. The title is "*Sudāmāsāra*" in the ms. no. 4734 of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, cf. K. K. Shastri, *Saṅkalita Yādi*, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

22 Cf. *Maj.* Introduction, p. 30. There is no other known work by Soma, except a

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Its relative unimportance may acconut for the fact that the language was less modernized than that of Narasiṁha's *Sudāmā-caritra*. In spite of linguistic difficulties, Soma's work constitutes a refreshening account of Sudāmā's story in 71 verses, enlivened by references to contemporary custom and day-to-day life in medieval Gujarat. The poem also sounds a lyrical note not found in more conventional *Sudāmā-caritra*s depending for their stylistic models on the *ākhyāna* genre.[23] Here for the first time, Sudāmā's wife assumes a personality of her own. As she presses her husband to go to Dvārakā, she energetically preaches the virtues of *bhakti* while requesting him to beg from Kṛṣṇa and insisting on the great inconvenience of being penniless (*vitta vaṇa*, v. 8-13). She really appears as a merchant's wife of her time rather than as a brahmin lady : she enumerates various ways of making money, such as going to foreign countries, mastering magic formulas, digging wells and tanks etc., and she complains that her pious husband knows nothing more than ' the name of Kṛṣṇa ' ! (v. 14-18). Sudāmā argues that final liberation is the only worthwhile kind of wealth—but she reminds him of the marvellous care Kṛṣṇa is wont to take of his devotees even in their worldy life (v. 21-25, 28-41)—and, of course, she has the last word. The rest of the work follows traditional lines. The novelty consists in the vivid discussions between the other-worldly husband and his worldly wife, a motif which Premānanda will take up again. Yet, the Vaiṣṇava lady appears well versed in the meaning and practice of *bhakti* and she is aware of its beneficial effects. Interestingly, the poet suggests that her devotion is of the right kind as it is so thoroughly successful.

Bhālaṇa's *Sudāmā-caritra* is contemporary with Narasiṁha Mahetā's work, but his style is dull, and that is also the case with Jagannātha's poetry.[24] Their accounts are rather flat except for a picturesque detail here and there In Bhālaṇa's version, Kṛṣṇa refreshes Sudāmā's painful feet (3.9), a scene frequently represented in popular imagery. Jagannātha's Sudāmā is a learned scholar, and his wife has to remind him to ask Rukmiṇī for the gift of many silver-embroidered saris and bodices (v. 30).

Premānanda's Tale :

It was left to Premānanda to complete the transformation of Sudāmā's character, from the strict otherworldly saint into the penniless devotee who wins the author's and the reader's sympathy. Premānanda's Sudāmā can hardly trans-

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few *padas* in an undated ms. in the collection of the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay (ms. no. 221, 7).

23 The colophon ' *iti Śrī sadāmāsāra sa pūrṇa samāpta/celā rājapāla paṭhanārtha* (*sic*) ' recalls the manner of Jaina didactic works in old Gujarati. It would not be impossible that Soma was a Jaina author, cf. Bhayani, H. C. " Apabhraṁśa Sāhityamān Kṛṣṇakāvya ', in *Anusadhāna* (Ahmedabad, 1972), pp. 100-137.

24 See note 17.

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cend his human preoccupations. As to his eternal salvation, it depends much more on the Lord's grace than on his own merits.[25] Composed in 1675-1691 A.D., the *Sudāmā-caritra* of Premānanda, a poem in 14 stanzas (*kaḍavuṁ*) and 580 lines, is still widely read today.[26] Its success bears witness to the lasting appeal of the subject as well as to the talent of the author, who is credited with having brought the *ākhyāna* genre to its perfection.[27] The poem reflects in a vivid manner Gujarati society at the end of seventeenth century and Premānanda proves himself a good observer of the human mind. His monologues and dialogues are well turned whereas his descriptions remain conventional. The details in his picture of the golden Dvārakā or of the new Sudāmpurī, however, are revealing as to the manners and the ways of the rich merchants of the time. His Sudāmā is a brahmin who finds it hard to fulfil the daily obligations of his position for want of money—a fact on which the author comments ironically. Sudāmā's poverty prevents him from securing the paraphernalia necessary to carry on his duties as an orthodox brahmin. He cannot even produce a decent offering to satisfy his ancestors, the cows or even an unexpected guest (4.117-126) ![28] So, it is ' blessed poverty ' which prevents the poor fellow from observing his *dharma*. This, of course, is the effect of his own *karma* and, as he cannot do better, he is in for more trouble in his subsequent lives (2.47-52; 3.105-130). That poverty of his therefore appears an unmitigated evil, a real curse—and he can only escape from it through the practice of *bhakti*. Premānanda describes the miserable family life of the householder Sudāmā (1.24-30; 2.31-62). Whereas no children of his are mentioned in the *BhP*, Narasiṁha Mahetā attributes some to him; Bhālaṇa counts two and Premānanda blesses him with no less than ten ' marked with smallpox scars and bent on growing up in spite of scanty food ' (1. 25) ! Yet, by inclination, Sudāmā is an ascetic : he is ironically depicted as a kind of dirty holy man, plodding along amidst clouds of dust on his way to golden Dvārakā.

Since he has renounced all worldy enjoyment and duties to tread the ascetic path, Sudāmā should take to begging. Yet, according to Premānanda, instead of being satisfied with interior detachment only, he takes the vow not to beg (1.28)—thus creating an impossible situation for himself. Sudāmā does not

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25 Possibly, Premānanda was influenced by the Vallabhite doctrines which by then had come to prevail in Gujarat : in *Puṣṭimārgīya* philosophy, ultimate liberation is granted by the sole grace of Kṛṣṇa.

26 Ed. see note 8. The *Sudāmā-caritra*, together with his *Nalākhyānā* and his *Narasiṁhanuṁ māmeruṁ*, is Premānanda's best known work.-

27 According to Majmudar (*Maj.* pp. 32-37), the two *Sudāmā-caritras* composed by the Marathi poet Vāmana Paṇḍita (died 1677 A.D.) influenced the *Sudāmā-caritra* by Premānanda.

28 Numbers refer to the edition of M. P. Desai, third ed. (Ahmedabad, Gujarāta Vidyāpiṭha, 1970) quoted in note 8.

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follow the precept of the *Bhāgavad gītā*: he is not really detached nor dispassionate, since all the while he nurses a deep-rooted pride; even as a devotee he does not want to humble himself by begging from a friend who has been more successful than himself (3; 11.416-420; 12.479-486). Unable to conciliate his spiritual aspirations with the worldly cares which are forced upon him, Sudāmā lives in everlasting mental conflict and his soul cannot reach peace.

To this learned and tortured husband, Premānanda opposes the figure of his sensible and genuinely devoted wife. As we have seen, Sudāmā's wife had emerged as an original character from the time of Soma (XVth c.). Tradition calls her Suśīlā ' the noble-minded one ', and the reader gets the impression that Premānanda feels more sympathy with her than for her saintly husband. (In the Porbandar shrine, she stands by the side of Sudāmā in a double *mūrti*). The dialogue between the two is the best passage in the *ākhyāna* (2-4. 39-154). Sudāmā's wife finds words powerful enough to overcome her husband's stubbornness and he is impressed by the faith of this simple uneducated woman. It is her faith which finally will win for them a miraculous reward.

Coming back from Dvārakā, empty-handed, Sudāmā shows the poor quality of his detachement in venting his anger against his wife and even against Kṛṣṇa whom he curses in his mind, calling him a miser and a hypocrite who has " stolen " his rice without giving him anything in exchange (13. 478-493) ! Yet he finally overcomes his pride : he admits to himself that wealth would definately spoil the poor fellow that he is. He therefore renounces it before he can taste it (12.502). When at last Sudāmā comes to know of the miraculous wealth he has received, " he feels sad " (14.568). Thus, in spite of all his shortcomings and his antics, the poor *bhakta* Sudāmā comes into his own. He attains sanctity at last, he becomes a great *bhakta*. Premānanda's genius lies in his capability of bringing out in a vivid manner the moral and the spiritual lesson of the old tale, while enlivening it and entertaining his readers all through with his witty dialogues and racy descriptions. A poor mortal with many failings and not a little ridicule could become a great saint and enjoy the tangible reward of his devotion down below. In Premānanda's tale, the sorry figure of Sudāmā, the poor brahmin, becomes an unforgettable one. The character of Sudāmā has reached its point of perfection in Premānanda's story, a great classic of Gujarati literature.

The Sudāmā theme fulfils the aspirations of Gujarati people, Jaina as well as Vaiṣṇava, towards a holy life which would naturally entail material prosperity.[29]

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29 Max Weber, *The Religion of India*, trans. H. H. Gerth and Don Martindale (Glencoe/ Ill., 1958), pp. 315ff., also realized that the Vallabhites, ' a merchant and banker sect, primarily found in Northwest India ', are in contradiction with the general pattern which associates ' ascetic religiosity ' with the ' professional representatives of bourgeois capitalism '. He says

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The poor brahmin Sudāmā's story expresses a dream of sanctity-cum-prosperity which basically contradicts the Indian ideal of ascetism and thorough detachment from all worldly things. In the Sudāmā case, the problem of Hindu sanctity is posed anew, it recalls the ideals and practices of the Vallabhite sect whose influence on the Gujarati tradition has been profound.[30] Should the holy be wealthy ? Why should they not be ? And finally, could they help being wealthy ? That is the dominant theme.

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of Vallabhism 'It is strikingly evident here that ascetic religiosity absolutely does not, as is generally maintained, develop out of the immanent 'nature' of bourgeois capitalism'. However, Max Weber fails to explain why, on quite different grounds, the Vallabhites, the Jainas (and also, generally speaking the Baniyas) were able to achieve the same type of "bourgeois capitalism".

30 The Vallabhite *bhakti* ,being a religion of grace, disregards penance and asceticism as means to achieve ultimate salvation : on the contrary, *mokṣa* must be obtained by leading a householder's life with the possibility of enjoying all the wealth God has given, provided it has been dedicated to him previously. Moreover, the bhakta purifying himself by his initial dedication approaches God through meditating on the most faithful possible reproduction of the life of Kṛṣṇa in his paradise or *goloka*. The bhakta tries to exalt his mind through joyfully participating in the paradisiac life of Kṛṣṇa himself, a joy of which he can already catch a glimpse here below, provided he is able to get rid of all selfishness and desire for enjoyment.

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THE TAMIL SOCIETY OF THE SANGAM AGE

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Introduction:

The historical, linguistic, archaeological, literary, numismatic and other evidences strongly testify to the high antiquity of the Tamil Society and its versatile excellence. The very fact that there are 260 references (16% of the total aphorisms) to ancient literatures in *Tholkappiyam*, the earliest literary work available, confirms the existence of great literary treatises on various branches of knowledge even a very long time ago. Unfortunately, all this literature has been lost due to serious natural calamities. The ancient Tamil Literature extant which is popularly known as the Sangam Literature, consists of *Tholkappiyam* (Grammar), *Pathuppattu* (ten Idylls), *Ettuthogai* (eight anthologies), *Thirukkural* (ethics), *Silappathikaram* and *Manimekalai* (Twin epics). On the basis of the various relevant evidences available, the Sangam Literature can be assigned to the period, generally known as the Sangam Age, as the Tamil Sangam (Academy), patronized by the Pandyan Kings at Madurai, has played a very significant role in the literary and cultural fields of Tamil Nad. The Sangam Literature besides throwing an appreciable flood of light on different branches of knowledge reflects each and every aspect of the Tamil Society. It was a society of well balanced development in Titanic proportions. The encomium paid on ancient Tamil Nad by the foreigners is not a hyperbolical statement but a naked truth. An attempt is made in this series of articles to present a pen picture of the Tamil Society of the Sangam Age.

Literature :

Tholkappiyam is not only a Grammar in the ordinary sense of the term but a great treatise which deals with almost all the aspects of human activity. Tholkappiyar, the author, has clarified each and every point with logical precision and aphoristic brevity. For instance, he points out that one can legitimately feel proud of four things, learning, valour, fame and charity. *Tholkappiyam* is the grammatical and literary charter, serving as a beacon light throughout the ages of literary history of Tamil Nad.

The *Pathuppattu* describes every aspect of the Tamil Society in picturesque language. The eight anthologies (*Ettuthogai*) were compiled and classified on the basis of metre and subject matter. It is needless to mention that the classification was done in an apple-pie order according to the principles of logical division. Among the eight anthologies *Natrinai, Kurunthogai, Ainkurunooru,*

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Kalithogai and *Agananooru* are amatory poetry. *Purananooru* mainly deels with warfare, state-craft, charity and ethics. *Pathitrupathu* gives an account of the Chera Kings and throws light in fixing the chronological position of the ancient Chera Monarchs. *Paripadal* is a miscellany which deals with love, religion and nature.

Thiruvalluvar has given the quintessence of advanced wisdom in his immortal ethics, *Thirukkural*. *Silappathikaram*, a dramatic epic (tragedy) and *Manimekalai*, a religious epic, are treated as twin epics. The former has a greater appeal as ' our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought ' (Shelley).

The Sangam Literature is a mirror which reflects all the aspects of the ancient Tamil Society. The Sangam poets, who were about 500 in number, touched every branch of knowledge in their pen portraits. Beauty of expression, clarity of thought, brevity of diction, intelligibility of theme, sublimity of idea, nobility of purpose, velocity of appeal, catholicity of character and universality of outlook are the special characteristics of the Sangam Literature. It is almost free from Sanskrit words, hybrid style, pedantic phrase and fantastic imagination. The Sangam poets sincerely considered Nature as their teacher. They received inspiration from Nature and described her beauty in a mellifluous language with aesthetic excellence.

Education :

From times immemorial education is considered to be the infallible wealth. The very fact that Thiruvalluvar, who was very brief in his treatment of any subject matter, has allotted many chapters to the various aspects of education, corroborates the sublime value of education. Thiruvalluvar had divided the entire faculties into two main divisions viz , arts and science. Mathematics—the queen of sciences, and letters—the basis of arts are the two faculties pointed out by Thiruvalluvar. He has indicated in an unerring language the universality of education. In other words, mathematics and letters are the two eyes for each and every human being under the sun. (*Kural* 392)

The learned author has indicated briefly but very clearly the various aims of education. Knowledge aim (*Kural* 396), Social aim (140), moral aim (134), philosophical aim (354), spiritual aim (2), cultural aim (997) and living aim (391), are some of the important aims of education dealt with in *Thirukkural*. According to Thiruvalluvar, teaching has four stages viz., feeling the pulse of the students, grasping the subject to be taught, simplifying the subject, and appealing and inspiring presentation. (*Kural* 424, 711). To all intents and purposes an uneducated man is no better than an animal (410). Tholkappiyar mentions general education and technical education in one of his aphorisms in *Tholkappiyam*. (*Tholkappiyam*, Porulathikaram—Kazagam Edition June 1953 ; *Agathinai iyal*—Aphorism No. 44). Pandyan Nedunchezhian, the King-poet, gives a vivid pen-

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portrait of the glory of learning. The sum and substance of his Poem (*Purananooru* 183) is that an educated man, however low may be his social position, will be respected even by the ruler of the land. The poets of the Sangam Age have educated the Kings as well as the ordinary people. They gave the rulers sound advice on various matters on appropriate occasions and played a remarkable role in the educational field of ancient Tamil Nad. Teaching was considered as the noblest and the most respectable profession. In short, the ancient Tamils did not consider education as a means to earn bread and butter but realized that it was for life, through life and throughout life.

Social Life ;

Society consists of men, women and children. According to Tamil the word ' man ' has various shades of meaning. Though generally it refers to the masculine gender among human beings it specially connotes a person who has the power of control. Spiritually speaking, man is expected to control his senses and attain spiritual mastery. The term ' Woman ' apart from its primary meaning, has a special connotation. The word ' Penn ' which means woman has derived from the root ' Petpu ' signifying ' love ', ' desire ' etc. The implication is, woman is a possessor of all the amicable qualities and hence she is lovable. Children are considered to be the wealth of the parents and a source of enjoyment (*Kural* 61, 65, 66 ; *Purananooru* 188).

The ancient Tamil Society was divided into many divisions. The divisions were made not to create any disparity or inequality among the people but to direct them to embrace different occupations for the smooth sailing of the society. As a matter of fact, the classification was made on the principle of division of labour. The ancient Tamil realized and recognized the dignity of labour.

There was perfect social equality between man and woman. In certain respects woman was respected to a greater degree. A chaste woman was not only paid social respects but viewed with a deep sense of divine veneration. She was placed on par with God. (*Silappathikaram* : Padhigam 56).

Milk of human kindness was considered as a fundamental social affinity and there was a perfect harmonious co-existence. Man without social culture was placed among the dead (*Kural* 214). ' Divide and consume ' was the social ethics envisaged and actualized by the Tamils of the Sangam Age (*Puram* 163). The temples served the purpose of social institutions and people assembled and mixed with one another with perfect social liberty, equality and fraternity.

' The purpose of friendship is to help each other ' says Thiruvalluvar. Give and take policy was considered as one of the main social principles on which smooth social inter-course could be made. Unity in diversity and social catholicity were the special features of the society of the Sangam Age.

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Marriage :

Marriage was considered as a sacred union of two hearts. Matrimonial process had two stages viz., pre-marital and post-marital, and sanctity was maintained throughout the process. There was complete identification of husband and wife in their walk of life. The purpose of marriage was not only to enjoy sensual pleasure but also to do charity with a deep sense of fellow-feeling (*Kurunthogai* 63, *Kural* 81). Woman was given the highest place in society in general and home in particular. The Tamil word " illal " which ordinarily means " wife " has a special connotation. The word can be split conveniently into two distinct units viz., ' il ' and ' al ' meaning thereby " the ruler of the home ". So it is crystal clear that the wife was not only treated as a partner of the man but the ruler of the home and the better half in the real sense of the term. The love experienced by the married couple was not lust or sensual craving but a tender feeling of a high order. Thiruvalluvar has rightly pointed out that such a love is more tender than the flower (*Kural* 1289). Various aspects of harmony between husband and wife were indicated by Tholkappiyar.

Monogamy was the only moral code accepted by the society (*Kural* 1315) —(*Kurunthogai* 49). Though prostitution existed it was looked upon with contempt by every cultured Tamilian. (*Purananooru* 73). " It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there was no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire and no priest to receive *dakṣiṇā* ", observed P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar (*History of Tamils*, p. 80).

Morality :

Morality was considered as the foundation stone on which the entire human virtues were based. Though the Sangam literature (except *Kural*) are not ethical in character they have a moral view and have the force to inculcate moral sense in the readers. Maintaining morality is more important than preserving life (*Kural* 131). Even the thinking of evil thought was considered a serious moral offence. Morality is not only a code of behaviour but a code of life. To cite an example, sense of gratitude was considered as an essential quality that should be possessed by every cultured man on the globe (*Kural* 110); (*Purananooru* 34). The same moral sentiments were voiced by Shakespeare :

" Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind
As man's ingratitude "
(*As You Like It*—11, 7)

" How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child "
(*King Lear* 1,—4)

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The term 'morality' which was defined logically and understood precisely by the ancient Tamil savants has a tripartite connotation viz., purity of thought, word and deed. In short, according to the Sangam Literature, morality is not only a view of life but a way of life.

Religion :

All the literary works of the Sangam Age declare in an unambiguous language that Tamilians had a strong faith in the existence of the Almighty. Though the Almighty was mentioned by different names and attributes the ancient Tamils embraced monotheism. The Almighty was described as an embodiment of all the noble virtues (*Kural* 9). Though there were many temples of deities, they believed that there is only one Ultimate Reality i.e., the all-pervading God. This is corroborated by the fact that the Almighty was always mentioned in singular. *Paripadal* throws a flash of light on temples. People congregated at temples, in order to enjoy peace of mind and spiritual pleasure. They did not pray to God for loaves and fishes but for His divine grace. In other words, they prayed to the Almighty not for their material welfare but for their spiritual uplift (*Paripadal* 5 : LL. 78-81).

Among the various religious rites that were in vogue the practice of virgin taking bath in the early morning during the cold season in the month of Margazhi (December-January) deserves a special mention. It was popularly known as *Thanneeradal* and *Ambaadal*. It was a rigid course of spiritual discipline which enabled the virgins to attain a harmonious development of physical cleanliness, mental purity and spiritual sublimation (*Paripadal* 11 : LL. 74-22 and *Kalithogai* 59). The ancient Tamils believed in the cycle of birth and death and the result of *Karma*.

"*Thirumurugatrupadai*" reveals to us that they had a divine mind coupled with an aesthetic sense as the result of which they could feel in their heart of hearts spiritual awe and enjoy the sight of Lord Murugan in the scenic beauty of the hills and mountains. In such a natural and pleasant atmosphere which was far from the madding crowd, they could come nearer to God and have a harmonious spiritual communion. In short, the religion which was embraced by the ancient Tamils, whatever might be its name, was universal in appeal and rational in character.

Culture :

The term 'culture' has a deep connotation and a wide denotation. The Tamil culture has four stages touching four aspects viz., Virtue (ethical), wealth (material), Pleasure (emotional) and Salvation (spiritual). Though there are differences of opinion regarding the order of the first three all the Tamil savants are at one regarding the existence and necessity of the four stages. Some of the ancient poets have mentioned and enumerated only the first three, leaving the

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readers to understand the fourth by themselves. Whatever may be the order of the four stages, it is obvious that they are all connected harmoniously with one another and train the people to achieve a well-balanced development of their faculties. St. Pavanathi, a renowned grammarian of the 13th century, has clarified that the purpose of learning is to acquire virtue, wealth, pleasure and salvation. It is a matter of delight to note that the Tamil culture is a harmonious synthesis of materialism and spiritualism. Wealth and pleasure form the material aspect and virtue and salvation form the spiritual aspect of the Tamil culture. Thiruvalluvar has hit the nail on the head by saying that man requires wealth and grace in order to enjoy in the material and spiritual world respectively (*Kural* 247). In short, the Tamil culture consists of all the good qualities which are practicable in reality and noble in outlook.

Athletics :

Physical culture is a basic culture. 'A sound mind in a sound body' was not unknown to the ancient Tamils. A deep perusal of the Sangam Literature will reveal that the Tamils of yore participated in various athletic activities with great interest and profound pleasure and improved their physical personality. Well developed physical personality was one of the basic qualifications of an ambassador (*Kural* 684). Physical strength coupled with bravery was considered as a hallmark in the matrimonial field. The young man of the sylvan land (Mullai) had to face the ferocious and strong bull in an organized combat and bring it under his control in order to win a bride for his marriage. The young man was generally mentioned by the name 'bull' implying thereby he should possess sufficient strength and man-power (*Purananooru* 312). Apart from the sportsmen of Herculean muscles, the ancient Tamil Nadu witnessed active and energetic sportswomen who have distinguished themselves in various atheletic activities. They were experts in the art of playing ball, swinging etc., as evidenced from *Silappathikaram* (*Silappathikaram* Canto 29 : Stanzas 20 to 25). Men and women dived and swam in the fresh waters of the River Vaigai at Madurai and enjoyed to their hearts' content the Kaleidoscopic variety of aquatic activities (*Paripadal* 10: 71-88). Hence it goes without saying that the ancient Tamils took active part in various sports and games and improved their physical skill, talent and strength and led a long life usefully and joyfully.

Military :

While enumerating the six state agencies, army was given the first place (*Kural* 381). Courage coupled with patriotism was the basic qualification of a soldier. Physical strength was considered as an additional qualification. A keen perusal of the Military Science revealed in the Sangam Literature discloses the fact that mental aptitude was given a higher priority than the physical fitness at the time of recruitment. Every effort was made to maintain the quality of the army. In other words, the army consisting of a few but the best man was preferr-

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ed to that of a useless and huge mob. Such is the military secret that has been revealed by Thiruvalluvar (*Kural* 763). The mother always felt joy and pride when she heard that her son fought the battle with martial spirit and valour (*Purananooru* 278). The very expression 'Moodhin Mullai' has a military connotation which refers to the valour of women. Though they did not go to the battle-front, they had the military spirit which sprang up from their patriotic sentiments. It was considered an unpardonable and serious disgrace to sustain injuries on the back. On the other hand, sustaining injuries on the chest, fatal though it might be, was considered an unique honour. The battle was fought during the broad day-light only by previous arrangement and mutual consent. The special feature of the military etiquette was that the soldiers of the opposition regiment who showed a clean pair of heels were not chased. It was considered a dishonour to chase or attack the fleeing soldiers. The soldiers who fought and sacrificed their lives at the battle field were remembered with gratitude. Their statues were installed in their memory (*Ainkurunooru* 552, *Kural* 771, *Purananooru* 232, 260, 306, 329).

Polity :

The Sangam Age witnessed monarchy. It was not an ordinary tyrannical monarchy but a benevolent and welfare monarchy in the real sense of the term. Though the ancient Tamil Nadu was a single entity culturally, there were three political entities viz., Chera, Chola and Pandya Kingdoms. There were also many chieftains who ruled small territories under the control of one of the three monarchs. The king was mentioned by several names among which the term 'Kavalan' deserves a special analysis. It was two semantic units viz., 'Ka' (protect, defend), and 'valan' (able person) meaning thereby 'able protector'. Hence a king was expected to protect his subjects and defend their faith, virtue, culture etc. The word 'Kavalan' more or less corresponds to the English term 'Defender of the Faith'. Though the king was the unquestionable gubernatorial authority of the land, he consulted his council of ministers, poets and elder statesmen and took their advice on important issues. The very fact that Thiruvalluvar has devoted 10 chapters (100 couplets) dealing with various important aspects of ministry, corroborates the vital role of the council of ministers in the Government. The ancient Tamil kings ruled the land with a great amount of moral responsibility as evidenced from the words of Cheran Senguttuvan (*Silappathikaram* 25 : 100-104). The same thought has been voiced by Shakespeare as : " Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown " (Henry IV-II, III, 1 31). The prosperity and virtues of the land entirely depend upon the righteousness of the Government. If a king does not govern properly the revenue will diminish and the industies will fall flat (*Kurul* 560). The two terms found in this couplet viz., " apayan " and " aruthozhilor " mean respectively the source of revenue

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and people affiliated to six occupations viz., agriculture, industries, painting, commerce, education and sculpture.

Economics:

Wealth was considered as one of the four main entities realized by the ancient Tamils. At the individual level, every man worked hard to earn his daily bread and maintained his family. There were many instances where the husband or lover went to distant places to earn wealth leaving his better half at home. Man was expected to render service and work hard (*Kurunthogai* 135). Spending the ancestor's property was considered more shameful than begging (*Kurunthogai* 263). The Chola, Pandya and Chera Kings improved agriculture, pearl fishery and forest wealth respectively and developed the national economy. They levied reasonable tax. They did not kill the gocse that laid the golden eggs. They were fully aware of the fact that they could not enhance the national income by tax alone nor was it desirable. The only way to improve the national economy was to tap new sources and increase the production in every field. Though many industries were in vogue the ancient Tamil Nadu was based on agricultural economy (*Kural* 1032). Hence, it can be said that agriculture is our ancient culture which is capable of driving hunger and disease from the land. Thiruvalluvar has envisaged such a type of land (*Kural* 734). The economic principles realized by the Tamil Savants were based on sound reason, which can stand the test of time. One should live within one's means (*Kural* 478) ; wealth should be earned by righteous means (*Kural* 755) and the purpose of earning money is not to hoard but to distribute it for the welfare of the people (*Purananooru* 180). These are some of the main economic principles propounded in Tamil literature. The ancient Tamil cities like Puhar and Madurai were the seats of fabulous wealth. Many poets embraced some occupation or other and maintained the dignity of labour. Idleness was viewed with contempt and labour, whatever might be its nature, was observed with great respect. Inequality among various occupations were not felt. In short, the economic history of the ancient Tamils can be summed up thus : they worked hard, earned well, spent usefully and enjoyed their life.

Commerce:

It is an acknowledged historical fact that ancient Tamil Nadu had commercial intercourse with different countries of the world. Exports and imports of various commodities were in full swing. Kaveripoompattinam was not only a great sea port of the Chola Kingdom but also an international emporium with a cosmopolitan atmospher (*Pattinapalai* LL 213-218). The Chera country exported pepper to Greece and Rome by ships and in return, she received bullions of Gold. Musire was a sea port of the Chera land, full of commercial activities (*Agananooru* 149). Imayavaramban and Chenguttuvan improved the foreign

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trade. Exchange of articles was the special feature in the field of trade and commerce. For instance paddy (the produce of the arable land) and salt (of the littoral tract) were exchanged commercially (*Aganaanooru* 140). The famous market at Madurai, the Pandyan Capital, was planned so perfectly that every row was assigned to a particular category of commodity. There was a flag with a specific emblem indicating the article sold in the shop. There were day markets and evening markets in Madurai where all the articles under the sun were sold. The merchants were given moral encouragement in their commercial enterprises by the Kings. The successful merchants were honoured with the title 'Etti'. They enjoyed recognition from every section of the society. The speciality of the trade and commerce of ancient Tamil Nadu was that each and every code of commercial ethics was respected in practical life. Perfect justice was maintained in every commercial transaction (*Pattinapalai* LL 206-212). Thiruvalluvar has indicated precisely the inevitability of righteousness in the field of commerce (*Kural* 120). In fine, commerce and trade flourished in such a handsome manner because they were based on perfect virtue and completely free from black-marketing, food adulteration and other malpractices. This was the only secret of the glorious success of the ancient Tamil merchants.

Industries :

The ancient Tamil Nadu witnessed various industries which determined the economic standard of the country. Small scale cottage industries flourished in every village of the land. Various metal works, carpentry, weaving, tailoring, leather works and manufacture of variety of instruments characterized the industrial field of ancient Tamil Nadu. Among these industries weaving occupied the most outstanding position. In fact, weaving was second only to agriculture. The commentary of *Silappathikaram* throws a flood of light on 36 varieties of clothes manufactured in the Sangam Age (*Silappathikaram* 14 : 106-112 commentary of Adiyarkunallar). A linguistic analysis of all the words referring to cloth will reveal the significant role of ancient textiles. The various similes which are employed in the description of the texture of cloth corroborate beyond a shadow of doubt the excellence and fineness of quality. Textile industries were not the monopoly of men. Women too, took an active part in the industries. The women weavers were known as 'Paruthi Pendir' (*Puranaooru* 125, 326). There was a particular colony at Madurai which was occupied by weavers. It was popularly known as 'aruvai veedhi' (*Silappathikaram* 14 : 207). A part of Mayavaram (Thanjavur District) is today known as Koranad, a word derived from Koorai Nadu, which means the land of textiles. There is another village near Kumbakonam in the same district by the name 'Thugili', which has derived from the word 'thugil', which means cloth. Even today it is a small textile centre. Industries in general and textiles in particular, flourished in ancient Tamil Nadu. To all intents and purposes, textiles (cloth) were placed on a par

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with agriculture (food) (*Purnaanooru* 189). There is every reason to believe that in Malaya, Tamilians are mentioned as ' Kileng ', a word that has been derived from Kalingam, because the ancient Tamil Nadu exported clothes to eastern countries in large quantity.

Fine Arts :

The Tamil culture was classified into three parts viz., literature, music and drama (Muthamizh). It is a unique feature of the Tamil culture. The human faculty consists of intellectual, emotional and physical aspects. They are known as thinking, feeling and willing respectively. The intellectual faculty blossoms into literature, the emotional part results in music and the physical aspect leads to drama; music and drama come under the jurisdiction of Fine Arts. Music, which occupies the central position, serves a harmonious link between literature and drama. The word ' isai ' which implies music has a significant meaning. It means " to make the audience yield " to amplify it, music should have a melodious capacity and a harmonious appeal to the very core of the heart of the audience, and create immense pleasure (*Porunaratruppadai* LL 21-22). The very fact that all the Sangam Literatures are in the form of poetry indicates clearly that the ancient Tamil writers had a musical bent to mind. The sentiments as well as thoughts were expressed through the metrical medium. The four main metrical forms—venba, agaval, vanji and kalippa—are based on perfect music. There were three main categories of musical instruments viz., wind instrument, string instrument and percussion instrument represented by flute, lyre and drum respectively. The unique feature of these three words is that the special letter which is peculiar to Tamil, is found in every word. Hence, it corroborates the high antiquity of Tamil music. *Tholkappiyam* and Perasiriyer's commentary throw ample light on technicalities of drama. *Silappathikaram*, an epic in tripartitic Tamil, gives a Kaleidoscopic variety of music, minute details in dance, aesthetics and drama. The canto on Arangettram and the commentaries on it form a book of knowledge in fine arts. Painting was one of the fine arts which deserves a special mention. *Paripadal* gives a detail of paintings on various themes. The sketch was known as ' Punaya Oviyam ' (*Manimekalai* 16 : 131). Apart from these fine arts, sculpture, embroidery and various types of workmanship were in vogue. The various fine arts that flourished proclaim to the world the emotional development and aesthetic advancement of the Tamils of yore.

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BROACH TEXTILES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By

S. P. SANGAR, Chandigarh

Broach was situated 8 leagues up the river Narbada on its north side,[1] nine or ten leagues from the sea.[2] The city was one of the 'pleasantest' and one of the 'strongest' fortified cities in western India. Its situation was also 'eminent'[3] as it was built on the top of a hill[4] and was surrounded by a wall. The fortress here was large and square, stood upon a hill[5] and commanded the river. Dodsworth was informed by the local people that ships of 300 tonnes could come 'as highe as the towne' and would make it a convenient place for the English to reside as it provided fit landing for their goods and proper facilities for the shipment of merchandise.[6]

Broach was a rich town with a great trade. It was very convenient for carrying on business between Cambay and Surat. It had two parts. The lower town was new and extended from the river to about a cannon-shot inland. Here were the bazaars, the customs house, foreign merchants and the Hindus, who did the principal trade in the town.[7]

From Broach to Cambay, Carre found many woods surrounding lovely reservoirs full of duck and other sorts of water-birds. On every side he saw 'troops of idolatrous nymphs' performing ceremonies in accordance with the Hindu religion.[8]

Broach in the 17th century enjoyed a reputation as a town of great commercial importance. The servants of the East India Company secured permission from the Mughal authorities for the building of a factory here soon after they had acquired one at Surat. The Dutch followed their example and founded their factory there in 1617.[9] It retained its importance from commercial point of view till 1660, when, as a result of the War of Succession between Aurangzeb and his brothers, it became embroiled in the quarrel. The people of the place offered

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1. Milburne, Oriental Commerce, p. 156.
2. Baldaeus, Philip, : A True and Exact Description of the most celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel....., 1672, Amsterdam, p. 513.
3. The Voyage of Nicholas Downton, 1614-15, p. 103. Baldaeus.
4. Herbert Moll, The Present Condition of Proper India, p. 247.
5. Milburne, p. 156.
6. Downton, N. p. 103.
7. The Trevels of Abbe Carre, pp. 140-141.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Milburne, p. 156.

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resistance to Aurangzeb, who, after his victory, put part of the citizens to sword and raised most of the walls to the ground.[10]

Broach was a famous centre for the production of cloth in the 17th century. It produced manufactures of the finest fabrics and in larger quantities 'than the same extent of country in any other part of the world, not excepting Bengal.'[11] It was known particularly for its baftas, which were fine calicoes.[12] Baftas of the best quality were made in the 17th century in Broach.[13] The narrow and broad baftas of the place were termed as husaini, chakrian, copera and erami'.[14] The length of one piece of baftaw as 20½ yards and twenty pieces or *thāns* made a 'corge' or score. In case the length was only 17½ yards, the score consisted of 24 pieces.[15]

Very fine baftas of Broach cost in August 1609 from 10 to 50 *mahmūdīs* per piece and were available in abundance. Later in the century, the price per piece ranged from 4 to 100 rupees.[16] Usually Broach baftas were sold at cheap rates. They were both white and coloured.[17]

On 31 January, 1614, a Muslim merchant, Suleiman Mohammad, delivered to Thomas Elkington, an employee of the East India Company, Braoch baftas as musters.[18]

Other varieties of cloth manufactured there were: bocar,[19] chiram,[20] dhoti,[21] gingham,[22] nicani,[23] poplee,[24] sawagazi,[25] sashes[26] and sela.[27] Broach nicanis were better than those of Thatta.[28]

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10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Thevenot, p. 99; Tevernier, I, pp. 54; 66; The Letters Received, I, pp. 259; 303; 307; The English Factories in India, 1637-41, p. 204.
13. Pelsaert, Jahangir's India, p. 43.
14. EFI, 1618-21, p. 62; Ibid., 1637-41, p. 312.
15. Downton, p. 103.
16. Tavernier, I, p. 66.
17. Letters Received, I, p. 307.
18. Ibid., II, 1613-15, p. 311.
19. English Factories, 1622-23, p. 152.
20. *Ibid.*, 1618-21, p. 94; 1622-23, p. 110.
21. *Ibid.*, 1622-23, p. 110.
22. *Ibid.*, 1618-21, pp. 102; 179; 1622-23, p. 110.
23. *Ibid.*, 1618-21, p. 94; 1622-23, p. 249; 1624-29, p. 203.
24. *Ibid.*, 1618-21, pp. 94; 235; 1622-23, p. 110; Court Minutes, 1944-49, pp. 99; 347.
25. Ehglish Factories, 1661-64, pp. 201; 220.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, 1618-21, p. 94.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

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Pietro della Valle recorded in 1623 that Broach was known for ' very great Trade ', fine cloth or calicoes, made there more ' plentifully ' than in other places, and exported not only to all the Asian countries, ' but also into Europe '. The Dutch and English loaded 5 or 6 great ships with calicoes of Broach every year. They made the cloth into very great bales, ' each as big as Roman Coach '. A piece of this cloth was sold in Aleppo for 3 or 4 piastras and in Italy for at least 6 crowns. ' Whence you may infer, what wealth comes out of this city alone ', concluded Pietro della Valle.[29]

The textiles manufactured in Broach were exported in large quantities by the English, Dutch and Indian merchants to England, South-East Asian and other countries in the 17th century. In October 1614, Thomas Mitford found that ' great stores of calicoes ' were available at Broach. The English merchants were left in the city for the purchase of the cloth, cotton yarn and indigo there. English merchants were also ordered by the Company to buy quilts and carpets there.[30]

We learn from a letter dated 7 March 1615 that English merchants were sent to Broach to purchase calicoes and cotton yarn there.[31]

John Oxwick was the first English factor sent in the beginning of 1615 by the Surat Council to buy goods in the interior. He went to Broach where he found a great store of white calicoes manufactured there and also diverse sorts of other varieties of the cloth ' made of purpose ' for the markets of Tecco and Priaman and for the Red Sea ports. The dyers there were capable of giving full satisfaction in their work, John Oxwick stayed there for three months and was able to purchase cloth worth £ 3,000. He also despatched to Surat all the goods that came from Ahmedabad and Cambay. He paid all the customs dues only in Broach.[32]

A letter written in November 1616 to the Company by Joseph Salbank from Agra says that Broach was a ' place for all kinds of Indian cloth that is made in those parts, as Cambaia and other towns of some note bordering about it.'[33]

In a letter dated 15 August, 1622, written to Surat, the Broach factors gave particulars of their investments, including broad and narrow baftas, nicanis, poplees, chakri, copra, hussaini, bocar, gingham, dhoti, trikandi and sela cloth. Of the 28,138 pieces of coarse narrow bafta pieces, 23,000 were meant for England and the rest for the southwards.[34]

29. The Travels of Pietro della Valle, pp. 31-32.
30. Letters Received, I, p. 238.
31. *Ibid.*, III, 1617, p. 40.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
33. *Ibid.*, 1616, p. 233.
34. English Factories, 1622-23, p. 110.

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The English factors gave to their brokers in Broach in July 1623, 4,800 *mahmūdīs* for the purchase of nicani cloth and 7,200 *mahmūdīs* for buying broad baftas. These pieces of cloth, both narrow and broad, were exported to Surat for shipment abroad as per instructions.[35]

In February 1625 the Surat Council communicated to the factors at Broach, Ahmedabad and Agra the complaints of the East India Company about the quality and price of calicoes provided by them earlier to England.[36]

In January 1628 the Surat Council assured the Agent of the Company at Batavia of the despatch of Broach baftas for use as presents by them, besides some fine sashes of turbans.[37] They informed them that twelve pieces of fine narrow calicoes from Broach had been sent to them in the *Blessing* and the same number of fine blues would be sent by the Dutch ships. They inquired from the factors there about the kinds of sashes required by them.[38]

As a result of purchases by the Dutch merchants and the investment by the local marchants and brokers for Mokha, markets in Broach in the beginning of 1628 had become very 'slender' and cloth had become dear. The English merchants there purchased in January 500 pieces of narrow and 200 broad baftas and 70 maunds of cotton. They informed the Surat Council that the remaining requirements of cloth would be purchased by them only after fall in prices.[39] A letter written a week later (30th Jan , 1628) mentions that the Dutch were still buying, although only narrow baftas. The English there had already purchased cloth worth 40,000 *mahmūdīs* and needed more money for buying of more narrow cloth.[40] On February 5, they sent an optimistic note to Surat from where they had received bills for 5, 500 *mahmūdīs,* and still felt the need of more money, their 'markets being now quick'. They assured the Surat President and Council that they would take care in the bleaching, drying and packing of the cloth. They had already bought the fine narrow baftas for the southwards which were to be 'putt out to drying'.[41] We learn from a letter written about a month later (March 2, 1628) that they had already purchased 6, 500 pieces of cloth and, whithin a fortnight, were sure of making up about 50 bales for despatch to Surat. They desired instructions from the Surat Council if they could go ahead with the purchase of bleached narrow baftas, 19½ 'coveds' long and 20½ *tāsu* broad @ 80 to 120 mahmudis per score of pieces. (*tāsu* was the twenty-fourth part of a coved, cubit or ell).[42]

35. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
36. *Ibid.*, 1624-29, p. 62.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 227
39. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

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The Surat Council informed the Company in their letter of April, 1629, that their factories at Broach and Baroda would be kept in action.[43] In that month, cotton goods were cheap in Broach, Baroda, Surat and Ahmedabad. The Surat Council had decided to send two of their merchants, Barber and Boothby, to Broach and Baroda with 30,000 *mahmūdīs* apiece, to set on foot the investment ordered there.[44]

The calicoes sent from India to England in the first quarter of 1630 were mostly the lower 'sortments', and were chiefly bought in Broach, Baroda and Surat.[45]

The Surat Council urged the Broach factors in October 1930 to push on the investments there for the cloth to be provided for England and Bantam, the list of such piece-goods being attached. They were asked to pay particular attention to the Company's wishes with regard to the length and breadth of the cloth.[46] The factors informed the Council the same month that they had been able to procure 12 or 13 scores of pieces of cloth despite the competition with the Dutch there;[47] and despatched to Surat 2,118 fardles of calico in addition to 60 jars of butter in carts.[48] In the middle of next month they were again reminded to expedite the purchases of cloth there and regretted the slackening of the supply of the same.[49] They replied after about three weeks that they had bought 126 scores of pieces of blue baftas and hoped to make up the number to 200.[50]

There was delay in the despatch of cloth to Persia from Surat in 1631, as the cloth in Broach and in other parts of Gujarat was dear for lack of rains. The Surat Council assured the English factors in Persia of an early supply after May. They wrote that by all 'observacion and forerunninge signes, both of aire and weather, this winter is likely to be seasonable; which proving answerably will bring us into action again in the procurement of calicoes, whereof Brodera and Broach (with the help of a seire of corne delivered out to the weavers every piece bought) doe produce about 200 pieces a daie, which the raines, we hope, will augment'. They were hopeful that with the quantities already purchased, they would undoubtedly be able to obtain 500 bales in all factories towards 'this next yeares returned'. All those quantities of calicoes, along with other commodities, were to be sufficient cargo for the *William* and *Blessing* meant for England.[51] A

43. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
45. *Ibid.*, 1630-33, p. 21.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 95.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
51. *Ibid.*, 1630-33, pp. 158-159.

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caravan carrying 200 bales of cloth meant for Persia reached Swally Marine from Ahmedabad with the cloth from Baroda and Broach in beginning of January, 1632.[52]

At a consultation held at Surat on February 2, 1633, the Surat Council decided to send Thomas Thimbleby, having been 'trayned up in England as a lynnen draper' to Broach for the purchases of cotton goods for despatch to the southern factories. John Yard was appointed to assist him.[53] At another consultation in November of the same year, they regretted that they could not correspond with the Company's expectations for the supply of Gujarat cloth. All sorts of calicoes in those parts had become unexpectedly dear and scarce and the small quantities to be bought in Broach, Baroda and Ahmedabad were in 'no wise' to yield more than their 'prime costs in England'. For the satisfaction of the Company they resolved to send to England musters of each sort.[54]

There was great scarcity of cloth in Broach towards the end of 1634. President Methwold and Council wrote to the Company from Swally Road in their letter dated 29 December 1634, that although the merchants were the only buyers in Broach at that time, they were unable to secure more than two scores of bafta pieces in a day. He lists two main causes for this. There was scarcity and consequently dearness of cotton wool which had occurred as a result of the high prices of grain of all sorts. The cultivators had taken to the production of food crops and neglected the cultivation of cotton. As a consequence of this scarcity, the artisans and mechanics of all sorts had fled the province of Gujarat. A large number of them had died miserably for want of cheap supply of food. The transportation of cotton wool two the Malabar Coast by the Coast merchents and its export to the Red Sea ports had resulted in the rise of its price at Broach. The President and Council informed the Company that they had asked their servants in Broach to procure the samples of the varieties of cloth manufactured there, as broad nicani, capra, poplee, chuchari and husaini, so that the same would be sent to their Agent at Matchhlipatam who had expressed a desire to get the same manufactured on the Coromandel Coast on cheaper rates than prevailing in Broach.[55] They further wrote that although Broach and Baroda had 'bene both discontinued, in regard to the misery of tymes', yet endeavours were being made to obtain some cotton fabrics for the east coast of Sumatra.[56]

The Surat factors wrote to the Company on 28 April, 1636, that they would 'willingly resettle again' in Baroda for there was 'made much good cloth in some plenty', and they had time and leisure to pick and choose, buying only that

52. *Ibid.*, p. 199.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 323.
55. *Ibid.*, 1634-36, p. 65.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

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which was good and cheap. Broach was so ' broken ' and the cloth made there had become then so deficient that it was not worthwhile to have a residence there.[57]

Messrs Druce and Spiller were instructed by a letter dated 10 June, 1636 to procure patterns of low-priced baftas while passing through Broach for comparison with those of Baroda.[58] They informed the Surat President and Council (letter dated 18 September, 1636) that there was no cloth production in Broach at that time for ' the people are fled and dead '. They suggested that in case the English decided to reside there, ' people and cloth would soon increase '.[59]

Situation seems to have returned to normal soon afterwards. The Dutch traveller Philip Baldaeus wrote in the middle of the 17th century that Broach was famous for the manufacture of linens and cloth, of which they made ' more here than in any other place of the Indies '. They had also the best way of whitening the linen. The Malabars used to come to Broach with nine or ten ships every year. The Dutch and the English had their factories there. The population mostly consisted of the Banias who were expert in managing the linen factory. Calico-weavers and merchants inhabited the two suburbs of the city.[60]

In their letter of March 16, 1638, the Company wrote to the Surat Council that they had found the calicoes from Ahmedabad exceedingly dear and those from Broach, though high in price, were, good and well conditioned. They desired them to send in the next shipping a large supply from that factory.[61] Calicoes from Broach, Baroda and Ahmedabad were part of the cargo sent to England in 1639[62] and in 1640.[63] Towards the end of the latter year, the baftas of Baroda and Broach had risen slightly owing to the scarcity of cotton wool. Writing to the Company in December of that year, the Surat Council pointed out that on examining the cloth bought, they found the Baroda cloth superior to that of Broach in its making, yet inferior to it in bleaching; and, both these cloths, in substance and whiting, came much short of the Navsari and Gondvi variety. The last one seemed to them to be very good, indeed. For that matter they had decided to put in investments in two places and to desist from buying cloth at Ankleshwar, Broach and Baroda.[64] The cloth from the last two places was not found equal to the mercole cloth from Agra in England in 1641 despite its equal length and breadth.[65]

57. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 293.
60. Baldaeus.
61. The English Factories in India, 1637-41, pp. 56-57.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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In January 1642 the Dutch competition and the dearness of cotton wool at Broach and Baroda forced up the price of piece-goods there to an unreasonable limit, resulting in the decline of purchases by the English.[66] High prices in the calicoes of these places continued for three years till 1642. The Broach factors bought for 'home' consumption only small quantities of these cloths in 1644, although they purchased at Broach and Ankleshwar for Bantam and Basra.[67] The London Company found the broad baftas of Broach and Baroda cheaper and 'more substantial and serviceable' than the akbari cloth of Agra.[68]

In the beginning of 1644, the English did not have at Broach, Baroda and Navsari any of their permanent and constant representative. Yet the investment in narrow baftas continued there through their brokers, who, however, bought these cloths at higher prices, for export to Achin to meet the increasing demand there. The factors were sure that the 'heat of buying being over' and the prices of cotton wool having fallen considerably (from 10 to 12 *mahmūdīs* to 4 or 5 *mahmūdīs* per maund), the cloth of these places was bound to be available at cheaper rates. They intended to continue the investments for this cloth because if it was not required for England, they would be able to meet with the requirements of Achin, Bantam and Basra. After the cloth was purchased at these places, it was 'viewed and received by some one appointed thereunto' and then dyed by the English.[69]

Eight months latter (Nov., 1644), the Surat Council wrote to the London Company that they had stopped the purchase of baftas at Broach and made investments at Baroda. Earlier, the former place had been most eminent in those parts for the manufacture of broad and narrow baftas; but had become the worst at that time. The manufacture had declined and prices had unreasonably shot up, resulting in the discouragement of investments there.[70]

In March 1647, it was becoming difficult for the English merchants to buy the required cloth from Broach. They failed to induce the dyers and beaters to promise more than 20 scores of pieces per day, although they were endeavouring to increase the quantity to 24 or 25 scores of pieces a day.[71]

In May 1647, the English were not buying any cloth at Broach as the Dutch were paying two or three pice per piece more than Revett Walwyn could give without further orders from the Surat Council.[72] He, however, purchased guinea

66. *Ibid.*, 1642-45, p. 6.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
71. *Ibid.*, 1646-50, p. 112.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

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cloth and piece-goods for Fort St. George as desired by the factors there.[73] As a result of the excessive Dutch purchases at Broach, prices of piece-goods increased obliging Walwyn to buy lesser quantities. He was sure, however, that three months later, in October, during the month and feast of Ramzan, the Muslim weavers were likely to sit 'closer to worke than at any other time, by reason they feast not soe often'.[74]

In January 1662, Broach baftas were sent from Surat as Presents to the English King.[75] For export to England in the '*African*' sufficient cargo, cloth was procured from Broach and Baroda as well. In the last quarter of 1663, Thomas Hopkins was busy at these two places in the purchase and bleacing of calicoes. The investment, however, had been rendered difficult by the recent failure of rains there. Despite the steep rise in prices, the Surat Council had sent persons to Baroda, Broach and nearby places to buy broad and narrow beftas and *sawagazis*.[76]

In March 1668, the Company complained to the Surat Council that the *tafsil* cloth sent from Baroda and Broach was very coarse and thin and much short of the Surat cloth of the same variety They were advised to have a better quality made there and despatch by the next shipping about 4,000 pieces of blue *dhoti* cloth.[77]

In November 1669, the Surat President and Council assured the Company in London that upwards of £70,000 would be employed by them in India for timely provision of cloth for the ensuing season to the factories in Gujarat. Among these were to be those of Baroda and Broach which would be asked to invest money for the provision of cloth for England for the next shipping.[78] For the shipping of 1670, the Company asked the Surat Council to provide 1,000 pieces of 'Baroches'. The latter replied vide their letter deted Oct. 26, 1669, that formerly Broach was the chief place for the manufacture of that cloth, actually called 'allejahs', i.e. alachas, 'but of late it's come to Surat'.[79]

In the beginning of June 1672, the Surat President and Council took an important step by establishing a factory at Broach to supervise the cloth investments there and at other nearby places.[80]

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73. *Ibid.*, pp. 130; 132.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
75. EFI, 1661-64, p. 31.
76. The English Factories in India, 1661-64, pp. 200-201.
77. *Ibid.*, 1668-69, pp. 18-19.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
80. *Ibid.*, 1670-77, p. 232.

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In expectation of large cloth requirements by the Company for England in 1674, the Surat Council sent in February of that year Reyanardson to Broach in order to inspect the various cloth markets there under his charge.[81]

Sometimes later, the Company asked the Surat Council (letter, of March 13) for enhanced quantities of calicoes. The latter, consequently, sent orders for the provision of the required cloth from Broach and Dharnagaon.[82]

The Broach factory furnished goods for lading the ships that left for England in January 1675. The quantity, however, became reduced as the brokers failed to carry out their promises. The new demand for customs by the Mughal authorities also caused delay in the procurement of goods.[83]

Broach was known for bleaching of cloth. The English merchants bought calicoes at Lucknow and Agra and got them bleached at Broach and this effected considerable saving.[84] Baroda being a costly place for the ' whitening ' of calicoes, the Engish gave preference to Broach.[85] Broach retained its ' wonted prefection ' for bleaching in the 17th century in preference to other places.[86] According to Tavernier, calicoes were brought to Broach from distant places for this purpose as the water of the river was supposed to have special qualities for this.[87]

81. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 238.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
84. *Ibid.*, 1630-33, p. 63; 1670-77, p. 276.
85. *Ibid.*, 1670-77, p. 280.
86. *Ibid.*, 1637-41, p. 196.
87. Tavernier, p. 196 ff.

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A NOTE ON THE ASSOCIATED ANTIQUITIES OF OCHRE-COLOURED POTTERY

By

JAI NARAIN, Ahmedabad

Archaeological explorations and excavations in the last three decades in India, had led to discovery of numerous ceramic industries. The so-called Ochre Coloured Pottery was first recognised by B. B. Lal in 1951, at Bisauli (Badaun) and Rajpur Parsu (Bijnor) during his trial-excavations at these Copper-Hoard sites.[1] Later on it was found in the lowest layers at Hastinapur.[2] Ahichchhatra[3] and Atranjikhera[4] in the Gangetic Valley in U.P. and at Noh[5] (Bharatpur) in Rajasthan. It is noteworthy that at Atranjikhera and Noh OCP is not followed by the Painted Grey Ware instead it is followed by the Black-and-Red Ware, thus providing a new and quite a distinct sequence of cultures. It may be pointed out that the interrelationship between Period II and III at Noh is, however, not very clear.[6] The area of its distribution roughly, is about 1,35,000 Sq. Kms.[7] while Aneki near Hardwar, represents its northern limit, in south it extends upto Noh in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan. The Western boundary in the distribution map of the Ware is marked by Katpalaon near Jullundur and the eastern one by Saipai in Etawah district of Uttar Pradesh.[8] Among the prominent sites yielding this ware, mention may be made of Manpur, Bhatpur and Lal Quila[9A] in Bulandshahre; Baragaon, Ambakheri and Bahadarabad[9B] in Saharanpur,

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1. Lal, B. B., ' Further Copper-Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and Review of the Problem ' *Ancient India* No. 7 pp. 20-39.

2. Lal. B. B., ' Excavation at Hastinapura and other explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins, 1950-52 ', *Ancient India* Nos. 10-11, p. 10.

3 *Indian-Archaeology — A Review* 1963-64, p. 43,
Indian Archaeology — A Review 1964-65, p. 39.

4 Gaur, R. C., *Indian Prehistory* : 1964, p. 142,
Indian Archaeology — A Review 1967-68, p. 45.

5 *Indian Archaeology — A Review* 1963-64, p. 28,
Indian Archaeology — A Review 1968-69, p. 26,
Indian Archaeology — A Review 1970-71, p. 31.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

7 *Prehistory and Proto-history of India* and *Pakistan* (1974), p. 397.

8 *Purātattva No.* 3, fig. 1, see also Misra V. D. in *K.C. Chattopadhyaya Memorial Volume* (1975), Deptt. of Ancient History, Allahabad University.

9-A *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1968-69, pp. 35-36, 1969-70, p. 38.

9-B *Purātattva No.* 5, pp. 39-40.

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Ahichchhatra in Bareilly; Baharia in Shahjahanpur[10A] and Saipai in Etawah[10B] districts of Utter Pradesh and Noh in Bharatpur district of Rajasthan.[11]

Previously, due to the fragile nature of the OCP at Hastinapur, only a few shapes could be recognized. Thus, in all, three shapes were illustrated viz. two vases and a deep bowl with an incurved thickened rim.[12] The subsequent excavations at Bahadarabad, Baragaon, Ambakheri, Atranjikhera, Lal Quila etc. have brought a good number of O.C.P. shapes before the archaeologists. Krishna Deva's[13] and R.C. Gaur's[14] lists include as many as eighteen types.

The main types consist of jars with externally thickened, flaring outcurved or out-turned rim, vases with flared, featureless, flanged, out-turned and externally thickened rims, the troughs with vertical sides and splayed out rims, basins with different varieties, bowls with convex hemispherical, incurved, tapering or vertical sides and dish on stand etc. H.D. Sankalia[15] is of opinion that some of the types listed by Krishnn Deva, may be omitted as not belonging to O.C.P. groups, still, Gaur's list does contain all the main groups.

Painted, incised and even sherds with graffiti marks have been reported in O.C.P. assemblage from Atranjikhera,[16] Lal Quila[17] and Saipai.[18] The sherds were painted in black pigment over a fine red-slipped surface, the motifs being horizontal single or multiple hands, hatched triangles and criss-cross or check-pattern. Among the painted motifs, particular mention should be made of the representation of an elongated humped bull, having prominent crecentic hams, flaked by a leafy motif from Lal Quila.[19] Besides the above mentioned painted designs, the main incised designs included oblique strokes, thin-nail-impressions grid of verticals or horizontals, leaf or V shaped patterns, grooved wavy lines, ribs or chords with notches, so far, graffiti-marks on O.C.P. have been reported from Lal Quila[20] only. Of these marks as many as ten were recognized of which the ladder, the cross and the trident seem to be the basic ones.

10–A *Purātattva No.* 5, pp. 42-43.

10–B *Indian Archaeology — A Review* 1969-70, p. 40, 1970-71, p. 38.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 28 and also p. 31.

12 *Ancient India* No. 10-11, p. 31.

13 Deva Krishna, ' Problem of Ochre-Coloured Pottery ' in *Potteries in Ancient India* (Patna 1969), pp. 75-82.

14 Gaur, R. C., ' The Ochre-Coloured Pottery from Atranjikhera and its significance ' in *Potteries in Anciant India*, pp. 95-101.

15 Sankalia, H. D., ' Functional Significance of the O.C.P. and P. G. Ware shapes and associated objects, *Purātattva*, pp. 47-48.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-101.

17 Gaur, R. C., ' Lal Quila Excavation and the O.C.P. Problem ' in *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology* ', pp. 154-163.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 156.

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Generally most of the scholars have only enumerated the main O.C.P. types along with painted and incised motifs, but they have offered little or no comments on the probable use of these pottery types. Pointing out towards the analogy Sankalia[21] aptly comments that the varied assemblage of O.C.P. pots and pans clearly indicate that the O.C.P. people were not hunters and nomads as postulated by some scholars. Simple globular vases, bowls and small/large storage jars and basins would form a part of any well-settled house-hold. Thus the O.C.P. types indicate a more sofisticated life of their uses, who were, according to the available evidence, the first settlers in the Upper Ganga valley and the adjoining western regions.

Initially, the data about associated finds of O.C.P. were too meagre to allow a detailed discussion. On account of the limited nature of dig and shallow occupational strata no detailed informations were available about the different aspects of the life of the O.C.P. people. The excavations of Atranjikhera, Lal Quila and Saipai etc. have thrown much welcome light on the different aspects of the people. An attempt is made through the present paper to study the significance of the antiquities associated and recovered during the excavations.

The mysterious 'Copper-Hoards' have provisionally been associated with the O C.P., on the basis of circumstancial evidence. Saipai has furnished the much awaited evidence of the association of one of the three most characteristic tools of the 'Copper-Hoards', viz. a Copper Harpoon with O.C.P.[22] During 1970 at Saipai in the Etawah district of Uttar Pradesh, a harpoon was encountered at a depth of 45 cm., below the surface. The evidence of Saipai tells us definitely that the O.C.P. people were, probably, connected with the 'Copper-Hoards' people. The evidence from Mit Thal,[23] may, also be cited in this context. Here a Copper-harpoon, almost identical with that from Saipai, was found from the surface ; besides a flat celt, a ring and a parsu. The main tools of the Copper-Hoards,[24] recovered so far, consists of flat, shouldered and bar celts, hatchet or parsu, double edged axe, ring, anthropomorphic figure, harpoon, antennae sword, hooked spear head and a new type of sword with grip obtained from Baharia[25] (Shahjahanpur). Of these, anthropomorphic figures, harpoons and antennae swords are mostly confined to the Gangetic Valley alone. From Atranjikhera[26] a few copper grains struck to a sherd, probably a piece of crucible and a very small copper piece, have been found from the O.C.P. levels, demonstrating thereby, the copper association of the industry.

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21 *Prehistory and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, pp. 397-400.

22 *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, p. 38; see also L. M. Bahal, *Purātattva* No. 5, p. 13.

23 Suraj Bhan, *Journal of Haryana Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 1-15.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-39..

25 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

26 Agrawal, D. P., '*The Copper Bronze Age in India*' (New Delhi 1971), pp. 199-201

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A brief re-consideration of the types of copper objects was attempted recently by Agrawal for the first time. Agrawal thought that the anthropomorphs, the swords with antennae and harpoons were hunting weapons. The flat cells would have been excellent cutting tools and bar celts good mining tools.

Sankalia[27] has questioned conjectural hypothesis put forward by Agrawal about hunting weapons. According to him anthropomorphs and antennae swords could not have been used as hunting weapons in the fashion which Agrawal has proposed. Sankalia is of the view that 'anyone, who has seen and handled these copper/bronze objects will have to admit that in size (and weight), shape and technique these three weapons from the Copper-Hoards are much finer and better than those seen in the otherwise advanced Indus civilization'. These objects might have been made by such roaming smiths, but they were made for a society or people who needed or had developed the art of making well developed weapons probably using local resources. The smelting of copper was one of the main activities of O.C.P. people. The authors of Copper-Hoards were familiar with open mould and closed or double-mould techniques and probably did not know alloying or anealing and cold-work for hardening the tools. Metal smelting and the use of wheel[28] for manufacturing pottery has been regarded as evidence of specialization of labour. But the smiths and other industrial classes were never whole-time artisans, as the mill-workers and many others are today.[29] Significantly, however, the existence of free-travelling itinerant smith divorced from any social context is rarely found in ethnographic context.

It may be noted, however, that the tool forms of 'Copper-Hoard' assemblage, did not influence the Iron Age equipments.[30] There is hardly any typological connection between the two conceding that Copper-Hoards had preceded in emergence of the iron objects. The source of the forms of the tools evolved in iron had, therefore, to be looked elsewhere. This obvious discrepency has to be attributed to a different source of their authorship. An iron sword, recalling the antennae sword of the 'Copper-Hoard', reported from the Late Medieval level of Eran may be regarded as an exception.[31A]

No house plan of the O.C.P. people has been found so far. The evidence of Chunck of clay, bearing reed-impressions, suggests that they lived in wattle and daule houses.[31B] Evidence of a floor has been found at Lal Quila. According to the excavator, the floor of the houses were clay-plastered, reinforced with

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27 Sankalia, H. D., *Prehistory and Proto-history of India and Pakistan*, pp. 397-400.
28 Childe, V. Gordon *New light on the Most Ancient East*, p. 195.
29 Sankalia, H. D., *Purātattva* No. 7, p. 108.
30 Banerjee, N. R., 'Iron Age in India', *Indian-Prehistory*, 1964, p. 190.
31–A Bajpai, K. D., *Saugar through the Ages* (1964, 30-31 XXII) fig. 1).
31–B *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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horizontally laid pot-sherds, rammed in earch.[32] It may be mentioned in this connection that wattle and daule houses had continued even during the subsequent P.G. Ware phase also in the Upper Gangetic Valley. In one of the cuttings at Lal Quila, was found a hurnt mud-floor, charred bones of animals, ash with charcoal pieces and some fine pieces of pottery. It is reasonable to infer that the above mentioned floor belonged to a kitchen. Sun-dried bricks, showing much and mortar indicate that the much bricks were also used for making houses.[33] Only a few pieces of baked bricks were also noticed, here and there, at Lal Quila[34] and Saipai.[35] Much more material evidence is, however, needed, before it can be said that O.C.P. people used kiln-burnt-bricks for building purposes. A rough, circular structure about 4 m. in depth and 7.7 m. in diameter was found at Lal Quila. Although unlined, the possibility of its being a well can not be ruled out.

Domestication of cattle and cultivation of cereals was practised by the people. The Saipai deposits have yielded the animal bones including ribs of Bas Indicus,[36] whose domestication is, thus suggested. The occurrence of humped bull among the painted designs of O.C.P. is also noteworthy in this connection.[37] The ox was most probably used as a draught-animal. At Lal Quila the animal bones were found in profusion. Some of the bones are charred and bear cut-marks which indicate that some of the cattles were slaughtered for meat.

Recent botanical analysis has confirmed that rice, barley and pulses formed parts of the staple diet of the O.C.P. people.[38] The remains of these grains were recovered from mud-clods and plaster. This would appear to be the earliest find of barely, rice and pulse in the Ganga Valley. Barley was cultivated at Kalibangan[39] the Harappans from whom the O.C.P. people would have learnt its cultivation. Rice is not indigenous to Saurashtra (Lothal) and now its antiquity in South-East Asia has been proved to go back to c. 6,000 B.C, It is from this direction that it should have reached the Ganga Valley.[40] The occurrence

32 *Indian Archaeology-A Review* 1969-70, p. 38.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

35 *Indian Archaeology — A Review*, 1970-71, p. 38.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 38 (1970-71).

37 *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1969-70, p. 38; see also Gaur, R. C., ' Lal Quaila Excavation ', *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*.

38 Chaudhury, K. A., Saraswati, K. S., Hasan S., Gaur, R. C., (1972), ' 40000-3500 years old barley, rice and pulses from Atranjikhera ', *Science and Culture* No. 37 (Calcutta), pp. 531-33, see also Gaur, R. C., ' Lal Quila Excavation and the O.C.P. Problem ', *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology*, p. 163.

39 Mittre Vishnu (1968), ' Protohistoric records of agriculture in India ', *Transactions of the Bose Research Institute* 31 (3), p. 95.

40 Sankalia, H. D., ' Radiocarbon Dates in India ', *Radiocarbon Dates and Indian Archaeology*, p. 213.

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of small shallow querns and stone rubbers and pounders, stone balls and pellets of sandstone may indicate a grinding activity. The evidence of large storage jars at various sites, suggest that grains were cultivated and stored.

Besides domestication and cultivation, the people also resorted to hunting and fishing to augment their food supply.[41] The available evidence suggests that hunting was done on a large scale. They used copper, bone and possibly stone tools and weapons for this purpose. Flat celts spearhead and hatchet or Parsu were excellent hunting tools. Bone tools were not used on a large scale.[42] As many as twelve bone implements, including arrow-heads and points etc were found at Lal Quila. Microlithic stone tools, so far, have been reported only from a few sites. A chert blade and a chalcedony flake from Saipai are noteworthy. Fishing was practised by the people, as most of the sites were situated on the river banks. Copper harpoons, reported from most of the O.C P. sites as chance-finds, were employed by the fishers. Mention may also be made here, of a few pieces of burnt clay found at Lal Quila which were probably used as net-sinkers.[43] Thus the evidence goes to suggest that fishing was also one of the main source of livelihood.

The aesthetic taste of the people is evident from the paintings executed on pots. Beads of terracotta and semi-precious stones have also been obtained from a number of sites. Biconical terracotta beads are reported from Lal Quila. One of these showed incised horizontal strokes within two parallel lines in the central part of the body, while another had a seven pointed star on the one side and six pointed on the other. The terracotta bangles are also fashioned by the people. The copper rings reported from various hoards, were also among the ornaments of the O.C.P. people.

Terracotta human and animal figurines may be mentioned as rare finds.[44] A terracotta figurine of mother-goddess from Lal Quila is of special significance. The figurine of mother-goddess is well-known from the Harappan sites. It gives a glimpse of the religious life of the O.C.P. people. Terracotta-toy-carts and hopscotches may be mentioned as toys.[45]

The main vehicles of transport on land consist of simple carts drawn by the bullocks and wagon vehicle etc. made mostly of perishable materials such as wood and bamboo etc. have not withstood the ravages of time. A number of toy-carts have been reported from a number of sites. These model-carts were perhaps used by children as toys and at the same time testify to the skill of the

41 *Indian Archaeology—A Review* 1969-70, p. 38.
42 *Ibid*, p. 38.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 38.
44 Gaur, R. C., *op. cit.* pp., 154-163.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

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toy-makers. The toy-carts comprise of cart-frames made of terracotta with four vertically pierced holes on each side to take stokes of wood. The four holes at the middle took longer states, which projected from the underside of the frame in pairs between which the easily removable axle of the wheels was held. It may be pointed out that use of copper was possible only in so far as regular trade was organised. Copper ore was most possibly brought from Rajasthan in the Upper Ganga Valley. The people had to exchange their surplus products for metal and other things of common interest.

The authorship of the O.C.P. and Copper-Hoards is one of the hotly debated point in the domain of Indian Archaeology. At present there exists mainly three shades of opinion among the archaeologists in this connection. It was B.B. Lal, who focussed the attention of the scholarly world for the first time on the significance of the O.C.P. along with 'Copper-Hoards'. He associated the O.C.P. and the Copper-Hoards with the so-called aborigins of the Gangetic valley who had probably inhabited the valley before the coming of the Aryans on the scene [46] Y. D. Sharma, A. Ghosh and V. D. Misra think that it is not unlikely if the O.C.P. represents the last flickes of the Harappan [47] culture in the Upper Gangetic valley and the adjoining regions. The recently growing third view [48] is held by S.P. Gupta, M. N. Despande, K. Deca, K. N. Dikshit and R. C. Gaur who are of the opinion that the ware is essentially non-Harrappan with only marginal Harappan influences at such site like Ambakheri and showing regional features at Atranjikhera and Lal Quila etc. R.C. Gaur has recently proposed that Pre-Harappans might have been the authors of O.C.P. and the Copper Hoards.[49] Thus, as the question of the authorship of the O.C.P. and the Copper-Hoards have been dealt with in detail by the competent scholars, the present writer does not like to indulge with it.

From the foregoing discussion it is now very clear that the O.C.P. people led a settled life, cultivated the cereals and domesticated the animals. Therefore, it is high time that some promising sites may be selected for horizontal excava-

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46 'Further Copper-Hoards' etc., *Ancient India*, No. 7, pp. 20-39.

47 Sharma, Y. D., 'Copper-Hoards and Ocure-Coloured Ware in Ganga basin, summaries of Papers', *International Conference on Asian Archaeology* (New Delhi 1961).

48 Gupta, S. P., 'Indian Copper-Hoards', *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XLIX part I-IV, pp. 147-66, also, 'Further Copper-Hoards : A Reassessment in the light of New Evidence,' *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. LI., pp. 1-7. Deva Krishna, 'Problem of the Ochre-Coloured Pottery', *Potteries in Ancient India*, pp. 75-82.

Dikshit, K. N., 'Nature of Harappan Wares in the Sutlej Valley', *Potteries in Ancient India*, pp. 56-66.

Gaur, R. C., 'Appraisal of the Proto-historic Problems of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab' *Purātattva*, No. 4 (1970-71), pp. 42-50.

49 Gaur, R. C., 'Lal Quila Excavation and the O.C.P. Problem' in *Radiocarbon and Indian Archaeology* (1973), pp. 42-50.

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tions to solve the riddle of the O.C.P. and the Copper-Hoards and to get a clearer picture of the material life of the people. Till then, we shall have to be content with the meagre evidence of pot sherds etc; which we can go on discussing ad infinitum without becoming wiser, as the seminar on O.C.P. (1971)[50] shows.

50 Sankalia, H. D., *Prehistory and Protohistory of India and Pakistan* (1974), p. 400.

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RECENTLY EXPLORED ICONS OF VIṢṆU AND HARI-HARA IN SOUTH HARYANA

By

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The god Viṣṇu is regarded as one of the supreme deities in the Hindu pantheon as a universal protector. His position was secondary in the Ṛgvedic period. But, in the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and in the Upaniṣadic literature, Viṣṇu occupied supreme status in the pantheon of Hindu gods. The *Mahābhārata*[1] declares Viṣṇu as one of the last born of twelve *Ādityas* and also identified with *Nārāyaṇa* as Vāsudeva in different forms such as *Bhāgavata*, *Sāttvata*, *Ekāntika* or *Pañcarātra* (here of the Vṛṣṇī race). In the *Purāṇas*,[2] the supremacy of Viṣṇu is fully established. The icons of god Viṣṇu are seen mainly in three attitudes viz. standing images (*sthānaka mūrti*), sitting images (*āsana mūrti*) and reclining images (*Śayana mūrti*).[3] The usual emblems associated with Viṣṇu are disc or *cakra* (represents the rotation of the world as well as of *dharma*, the wheel of the time and the wheel of planets and the god Viṣṇu is immoveable and he moves the wheel), *gadā* (which subdues all creatures in *māyā*, a prominent weapon signifying strength), conch shell (considered to be prosperity) and lotus (as a mark of divine purity). He wears *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, *makara-kuṇḍala*, bracelets, *yajñopavīta*, long *Vanamālā* and *Kaustubha*.[4]

In the Kuṣāṇa period, Viṣṇu images are seen frequently with four arms, the two upper hands arising from the main arms, below the shoulders and are raised upto the head of the god and are generally attached to the panel providing the support to the image. The modelling of the figure is roundish with a short bust and a few ornaments.[5]

The solitary image of Viṣṇu (*fig. 1*, 38.10 × 31.75 cm.) belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period is from the village Sondh, 87 km. east-south of Gurgaon on Nuh-Hodal road. The sculpture in red sandstone represents the bust of the lord Viṣṇu. The deity is four armed; the upper left hand raised above the shoulder, is hold-

1 Desai, K. S., *Iconography of Viṣṇu* (New Delhi, 1973), pp. 2-3.

2 Rao T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I, II ed. (Delhi, 1968), pp. 73-79; Banerjea, J. N., *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, III ed. (Delhi, 1974), pp. 385-88. Singh, S. B., *Early Origin of the God Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Sect*, Kurukshetra University Research Journal, VII, No. I and II, 1974, pp. 7ff; Hopkings, E. W., Epic Mythology, (Reprint Delhi, 1974), pp. 202-08.

3 Rao. T. A. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 78-96.

4 *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*, III, 60, 1-6.

5 Desai, K. S., *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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Fig. 1
Discovered from Sondha in Gurgaon District (Haryana)

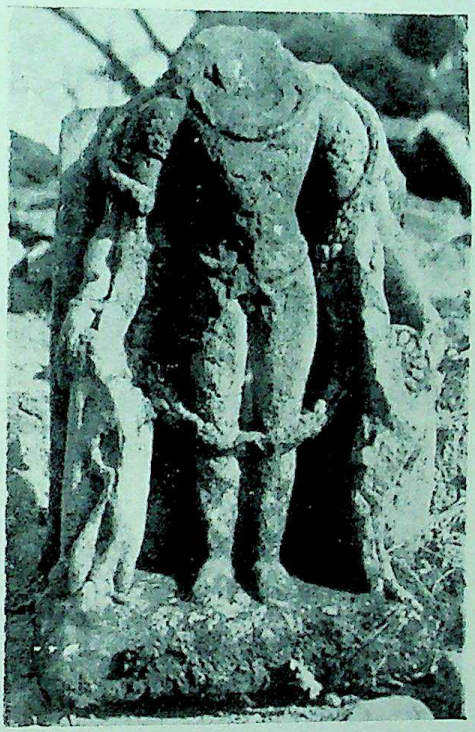

Fig. 2
Discovered from Sondha in Gurgaon District (Haryana)

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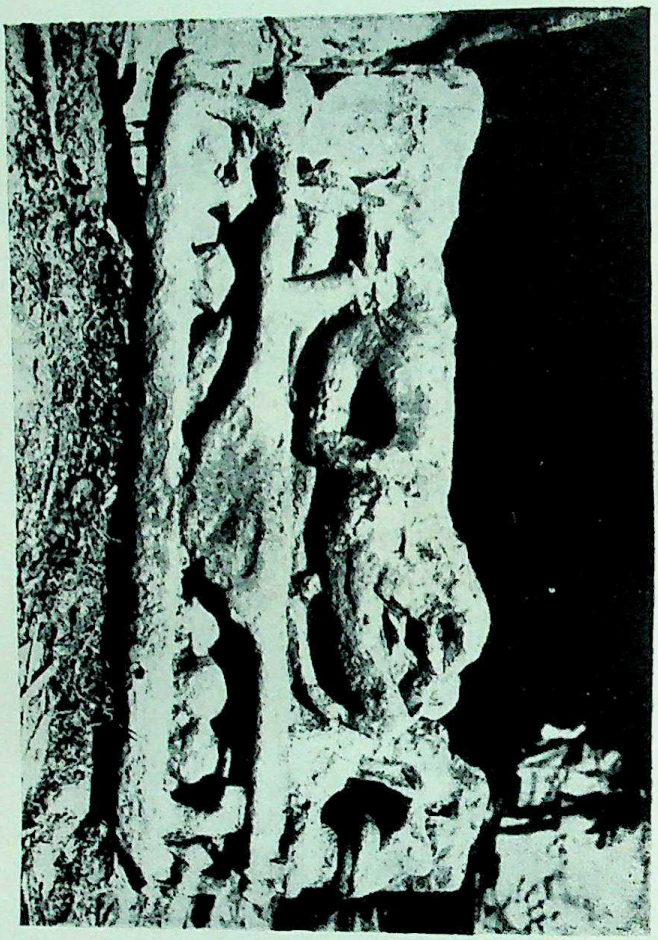

Fig. 3
Discovered from Gurâvaṛā in Mahendragarh District (Haryana)

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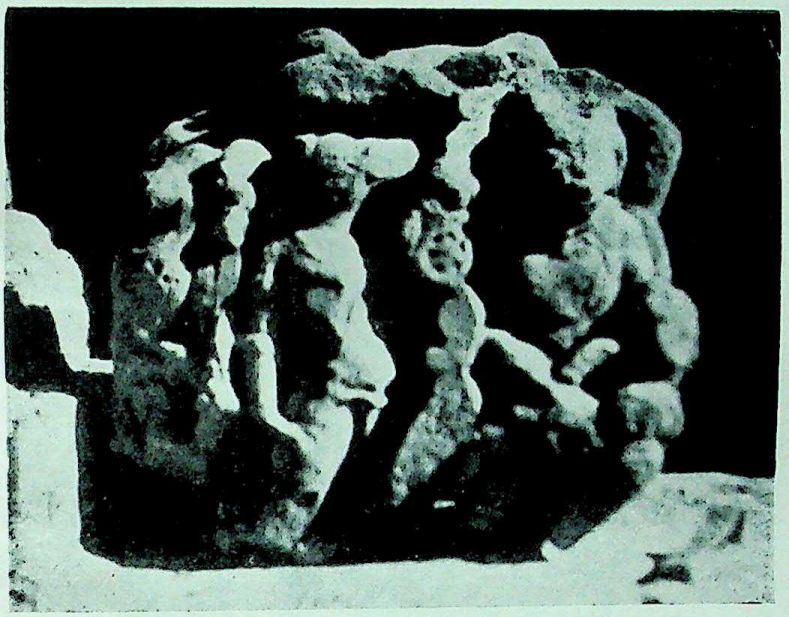

Fig. 4
Discovered from Ujina in Gurgaon District (Haryana)

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Fig. 5
Discovered from Puṇāṇā in Gurgaon District (Haryana)

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ing a disc or *cakra*; while the corresponding right hand is damaged. The front two hands hold a conch shell near the chest so as to blow it. This feature is quite interesting as far as the iconography is concerned. This remarkable pose is rarely seen in the Viṣṇu image. The god is adorned with a triangular shaped bracelets, *Kaṅkaṇas* and simple head-dress. The face of the deity is partly mutilated Due to the simple style of *cakra*, the peculiar head-dress and minimum ornamentation, the deity represents an early form of the lord Viṣṇu belonging to the Kuṣāṇa age.

Viṣṇu with Āyudhapuraṣas:

From Gupta period onwards, Viṣṇu has been depicted as bearing ornamental *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, numerous folds of *dhotī*, scarf tied round the waist as girdle, *abhaya* or *varada-mudrā*, a large disc similar to wheel and *āyudhapuruṣas* etc. References of *āyudhapuruṣas*, too, occur in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[6] and the *Harivaṁśa*.[7]

The fragmentary sculpture of red sandstone (*fig. II*, 44.45 × 29.21 cm.) is discovered from the village Sondh. The frieze represents headless god Viṣṇu with *āyudhapuruṣas*. The deity is standing on a pedestal in *samabhaṅga* pose. He is four-armed; one of his left hands is carrying a *cakra*, while, the object in the other hand is mutilated, probably might have possessed a conch. One of his right hands is placed on a club and the other is in mutilated form, possibly shown in *varada* pose or possessing a rosary. The god is ornamented with a *hāra*, armlets, wristlets, sacred thread and a long *vanamālā* which is coming over the shoulders and reaching up to knee and the lower garment as *dhotī* bound by an ornamental girdle. Below, on the right side an *āyudhapuruṣa* as *gadādevī*, is standing on the pedestal. Similarly, on the left side a *cakrapuruṣa* is, too, standing on the pedestal, but the objects in his hands are damaged. Its execution and style belongs to c. 9th-10th centuries A.D.

Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu:

In the *Mahābhārata*[8] and *Jayākhya Saṁhitā*,[9] Viṣṇu was identified and conceived with Nārāyaṇa as reclining on the primaeval waters on the serpent bed and creating a lotus from his navel of his own will, from which Brahmā was born. *Vaiṣṇava* sect might have adopted *Nāga* cult which was prevailing among the masses in the most ancient time. Gonda[10] has explained that " Viṣṇu sleeps on Śeṣa and Viṣṇu is Śeṣa, Śeṣa is a form of the supreme being ". The *Devatāmūrti-*

6 X. 12.
7 *Viṣṇu-parva*, 35.58-9.
8 III, 194, 8-15; XII, 47, 48.
9 II, 34-36
10 Gonda, J., *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 152.

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prakaraṇa[11] gives a detailed account of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu as the god to be carved reclining on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa aidmst waters, Brahmā to be carved on the lotus issuing from the navel of Hari, goddess Bhūdevī and Lakṣmī to be carved near his feet, and other *Ṛṣis* and demons to be placed near him. Rao[12] further states that three-fourth of the body of Viṣṇu is made to lie flat upon serpent and one-fourth is to be raised; his ten incarnations are required to be carved above the reclining figure of Viṣṇu.

The fragmentary sculpture of sandstone ((*Fig. III*, 64.77 × 33 cm.) representing Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu was discovered from a village, Guravara, 74 km. north-east of Mahendragarh district headquarter. *Pūrṇakuṁbha* and fishes are shown below the reclining god Viṣṇu in the panel representing his presence in the *Kṣīra-sāgara*. The deity is four-armed. The above right hand is supporting the head of the deity while a club is laid nearby. The other right hand is near his navel, on which Brahmā might be seated on lotus issuing from his navel, but the panel is damaged. The left hands, too, are broken. His left leg is bent while the right leg is straight, probably resting in the lap of the goddess for shampooing. The goddess is not visible, but her seat (stool) is seen. Serpenthoods, too, are mutilated. The deity is ornamented with ear-rings, double bracelets, jewelled armlets, wristlets and a long *vanamālā* extending below the knee. Stylistically, it belongs to c. 10th-11th centuries A.D.

Another similar image (91.44 × 64.77 cm.) was also found in the same village, which is now housed at Prāṅtīya Museum, Jhajjar (Haryana). One more ' Seṣaśāyī image (110.49 × 69.85 cm.) of black sandstone is also exhibited at the same Museum,[13] discovered at Banchari, near Hodal. The frieze shows Viṣṇu sleeping on serpent. Brahmā is seated on lotus which is issued from Viṣṇu's navel. Viṣṇu is four-armed, holding club and *śaṅkha* in right hands, while upper left hand is raised above the shoulder and holding a *cakra*, the object in the other hand is mutilated. Near his feet two female figures are seen, representing Bhūdevī and Lakṣmī goddesses. Two *ṛṣis* are also standing near him holding clubs in their hands. At the top panel gods are seen on their vehicles, viz., Indra on elephant, Śiva on bull and Kārttikeya on peacock, etc.

Another similar image of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu is also worshipped in a village named Sesasayi[14] near Hodal.

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11 V, 86-90.

12 Rao, T. A. G., *op. cit* Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 263-64.

13 The Photographs of these sculptures, housed at the Prāṅtīya Museum, Jhajjar (Haryana), could not be procured.

14 The image being worshipped, the author was not allowed to take its photograph.

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Varāha and Nṛsiṁha Incarnations :

In the Brāhmaṇic literature,[15] the relation of *Varāha* with the earth is finally established and the *Varāha* has been described as lifting up the earth with depth of the lower region. In the *Mahābhārata* and later period,[16] *Varāha* and *Nṛsiṁha* have been incorporated in the incarnation cycle of god Viṣṇu. The *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa*[17] mentions Hari as Aniruddha i.e., *Varāha* and he should be represented as human body with the face of a boar, with eyes representing wonder and engrossed in looking at the earth goddess. The *Purāṇa*[18] further states that *Nṛsiṁha* image should have the face of a lion and the body of a man. He should be represented as tearing the bosom of Hiraṇyakaśipu with his sharp nails. Hiraṇyakaśipu should be placed on the knees of the god. He represents ignorance, while the god in the form of Saṁkarṣaṇa is the destroyer of ignorance.

The fragmentary sculpture of sandstone (*Fig. IV*, 27.94 × 30.48 cm.) representing *Varāha* and *Nṛsiṁha* in a single panel, was found in a village, Ujina, 55 km. south of Gurgaon. On the right side of the panel, Nṛsiṁha (Human body with lion face) is seated in *utkuṭikāsana* and demon Hiraṇyakaśipu is shown lying on his knee. The god Viṣṇu as Saṅkarṣaṇa is tearing Hiraṇyakaśipu's bosom with his two hands. The drapery and ornaments are eroded. In the left panel, Viṣṇu's other incarnation as god Varāha (Human body with boar face) has been depicted. The *Varāha* has been shown as standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, looking towards the mutilated figure of Bhūdevī with admiration. The deity is ornamented with *hāra*, bracelets, armlets, *kaṅkaṇas*, sacred-thread and lower garment. On the right side of the god Varāha, two female figures are standing and watching the whole episode Its artistic execution and style represent it to a date in c. 11th-12th centuries A.D.

Hari-Hara :

The evolution of the composite images is rooted in the tendency of the Hindus to revere all the gods as of equal importance. Max Muller[19] mentions that in the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* gods are considered to be the highest gods on different occasions. In the *Mahābhārata*[20] also sometimes Viṣṇu is praised as the highest god and sometimes Rudra or Śiva. But, these were the embodiments

15 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 1, 2, 11 : *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III, 1. 5, 1 ; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X, 1, 8; *Kāpiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā*, VI, 7.

16 Desai, K. S., *op. cit.*, pp. 73-94; Rao, T. A. G., *op. cit.* Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 137-57; Banerjea, *op. cit.* pp. 413-17.

17 *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, III*, 79, 2-7.

18 Ibid., III, 78, 2.

19 I, 164, 46.

20 Desai, K. S., op. cit., p. 51; Singh S. B., ' Syncretic Icons in Uttar Pradesh ', *East and West*. New Series, Vol. 23, Nos. 3-4, (Sept.-Dec., 1973), Rome, pp. 339-40.

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of the one and the same God. This spirit of tolerance and reconciliation to consider all the gods as of equal rank, must have inspired the concept of a composite figure; where the gods are not only placed on an equal footing but are also synthesized into one. The *Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa*[21] states that in a *Hari-Hara* image the right half should be god Śiva and the left Viṣṇu. He should carry a trident in one right hand; while the other held in *varada* pose and a lotus and disc in the left hands. On his right side there should be a bull and on the left *Garuḍa*. The *Matsya-purāṇa*[22] further states that objects in left hands should be conchshell, disc or club; while the right half of the head should were *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and one of the right hands should be shown in *varada* pose and the other holding a trident; while sacred thread consists of serpents on his person. Further the *Śilparatna*, the *Suprabhedāgama* and the *Uttarakāmikāgama*[23] emphasize that the deity should be standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose and his left half should be shown with a crown, garland, conch, disc, a rosary (in the ear) and right half should carry a trident and rosary. *Nandī* should also be shown. The *Devatā-mūrtiprakaraṇa*[24] further mentions that the objects in right hands should be *cakra* and *padma*; while one of the left hands should be shown with rosary inspite of *varada* pose.

The frieze of sandstone (*Fig. V*, 81.28 × 69.85 cm.) representing *Hari-Hara Mūrti*, a complete composite figure of Śiva (right half) and Viṣṇu (left half), has been discovered at Punahna now it is shifted to Siddheśvara temple in Gurgaon town). The deity is four-armed, the upper right hand is carrying a trident while the other is shown in *varada* pose. The left hand is raised upwards and is holding a disc or *cakra*, but the object in the other left hand is broken which might have been a conch-shell. The head of the right half wears *jaṭā-mukuṭa* while the left half wears *Kirīṭa-mukuṭa*; snake-thread on the right side, sacred thread on the left side and *vanamālā* passing over the shoulders and reaching upto the knee, with flowers on the left and beads on the right side. A circular halo is carved behind the head of the deity. At the top on both sides, *Vidyādharas* are flying with garlands in their hands. On each side a leograph is crouching at the centre of the panel. Beneath, at the right side a bull (Nandī) is seen as gazing the lord Śiva. Near it, a male *gaṇa* is standing, holding a staff in his left hand. On corresponding left corner, two female figures are standing but the objects in their hands are not clearly visible. Stylistically it belongs to c. 9th-10th centuries A.D.

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21 Rao, T. A. G., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 334, Singh, S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 343.
22 260, 22-27.
23 XXII, XXIV; LX, respectively.
24 VI, 33-34; 35-41; 56-57.

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DURGĀ TEMPLE AT DIURI

By

D. R. Das, Calcutta

Diuri is a small village in the Tamar P. S. of the Ranchi District, Bihar. The place finds mention in the *Ranchi District Gazetteer*[1] in connection with a multihanded Dugrā image which is enshrined in an old temple there (Plates I and II). A passing reference to this ancient monument is also made by Patil[2] and Singh.[3] Besides these brief notices, the temple remains very much in obscurity. Beglar, who toured in the neighbouring district of Singhbhum, was probably not aware of its existence. However, the presence of an ancient temple in the Ranchi District is very important when not more than two or three such monuments are known from this area. A local legend suggests that there was a road which running through this district linked Puri with Varanasi.[4] It is obvious that Orissan tradition of temple building was channelled to the Chotanagpur region through this route. The gap in time and space might have contributed to the growth of some individualities in the temples of this area but such individualities, if there are any, have not yet been properly identified. It is only logical that temples belonging to the earlier period should remain nearer to their Orissan archetype while those of the later series may not have the same amount of fidelity. It now remains to be seen to which group the Diuri temple belongs.

At it stands today the temple is preserved in a very precarious condition and only a small part above the vertical wall section can now be seen. Raised on a high plinth, the temple is *triratha* in plan (Fig. 1). There is no porch but the *rāhā* in front is so projected that it accommodates a vestibule leading to the inner cella. The *bāḍa* has three elements, viz. *pābhāga*, *jāṅgha* and *baraṇḍa*. The *pābhāga* consists of four mouldings. From bottom upward these are *khurā*, *noli*, *khurā* and *basanta*. The *jāṅgha* is plain excepting a niche each on the *rāhā* of the three side walls. The *baraṇḍa* is indicated by a recessed *kāṇṭi* around the wall. Above, the *gaṇḍī* is almost lost. The little that remains shows that the tower was composed of a number of *bhūmis*. The *bhūmi-āmalakas* at the edges were right-angled. In front, the *rāhā* shows at its base a *bhūmi* complete with sectional *āmalakas*. It is surmounted by a hunched *śukanāsa* which bears traces of an incised *chaitya*—arch design. Hereafter, the *rāhā* is lost but it seems to

1 *Ranchi District Gazetteer*, 1970, p. 609.

2 Patil, D. R., *Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, 1963, p. 16.

3 Singh, S., 'Temples in Ranchi District', *Dr. Satkari Mookherji Felicitation Volume*, 1969, pp. 437 f.

4 Risley, H., *The People of India*, Delhi, 1969, p. 73.

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have been set-back before it rose upward. It may not be quite out of place to mention in this connection that the *Śukanāsa* is not a very common feature in the temples of the neighbouring districts of Singhbhum and Purulia. However, the ruins of a number of temples at Jaida (Singhbhum District) contain a similar structural element. *Śukanāsa* also occurs on the frontal *rāhā* in the temple No. 4 at Barakar in the Burdwan District, W. Bengal.

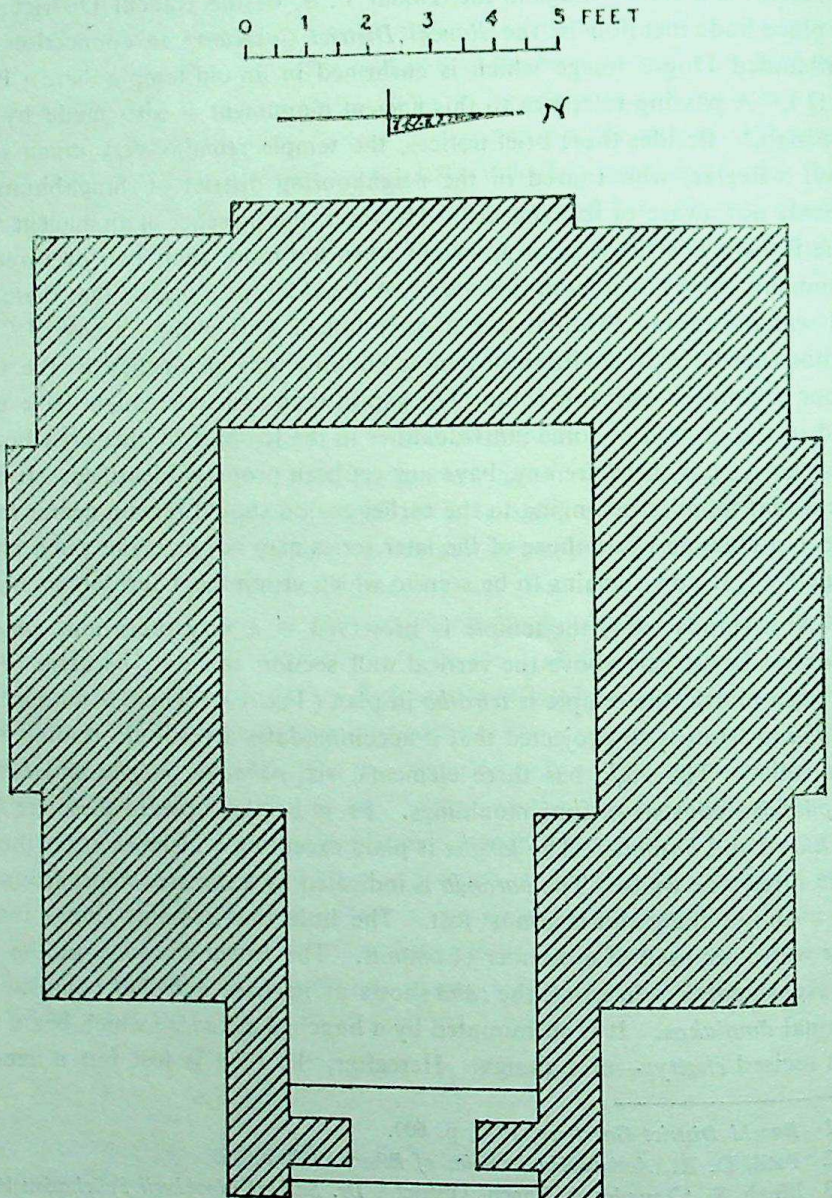

Fig. 1

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Inside, the *gamā* of the vestibule is not triangular but it comes nearer to a rectangle its vertical sides being longer than those at its upper and lower ends. The inner cella again is not spanned by corbelling the stone courses but is simply sealed by stone slabs placed side by side.

Turning to Orissa, we find presence of analogous features in the temples of this land. This region possesses a series of temples having a *triratha* ground-floor plan, *baraṇḍa* indicated by the recessed *kāṇṭi* and *śikhara* divided into a number of *bhūmi* stages by right angled *bhūmi-āmalakas*. *Śuknāsa* at the base of the front *rāhā* characterizes many of these temples. Most of them are single celled structures with out the complement of an attached hall in front. Temples of this series represent what the holy shrines of Orissa were in the beginning. These temples, generally, have three mouldings, viz. *khurā-noli-basanta*, to compose the *pābhāga*. Later on *noli* was replaced by *kumbha* and the number of moulding was increased to four with the addition of a square *paṭā*. Finally, the number was settled at five when the conical *kaṇi* was added to the scheme. Equally, there was a tendency to increase the ratio between the length of the *garbha* and the height of the monument. This and other developments can be studied through a number of temples scattered in different parts of Orissa.

The temple at Diuri, so far as its architectural elements are concerned, has an obvious association with the early series of Orissan temples. But its *pābhāga*, with four mouldings, indicates a date slightly later than that of the Svarṇajāleśvara (Bhubaneswar) or similar other temples in Orissa. But while in Orissa later temples show the *kumbha* moulding instead of the *noli*, the temple at Diuri retains the latter suggesting thereby a bifurcation in the formal development of the temple architecture in Orissa and Eastern India. In Orissa, *kumbha* as a base-moulding appears as early as in the Siṁhanātha temple on the Rameswar island (Cuttack District). If its megascopic features are teken into account the Siṁhanātha temple is not very much different from the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhubaneswar. But in the more north-easterly district of Orissa the convention of using the *kumbha* moulding took some time to reach. Thus the Kuṭaiṭuṇḍi at Khiching (Mayurbhanj District) though has four mouldings in the *pābhāga*, viz. *khurā noli-khurā basanta*, the *kumbha* is conspicuously absent. It is not the purpose of this paper to determine why the stylistic development of a regional variety of the *nāgara* architecture was not unilinear. However, the fact remains that in the Chotanagpur belt comprising areas in Orissa, Bihar and Bengal the growth pattern of the *nāgara* architecture is somewhat different from what we find in the coastal districts of Orissa.

When we come back to Diuri the temple it offers another element which points to its archaic character. This is the sectional *āmalaka* at the base of the *rāhā* on the front face. In the Paraśurāmeśvara, the *rāhā* in the front shows two

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such *āmalaka*s at the edges of its base. The temples of the Śatrughneśvara group also had similar element. The Svarṇajāleśvara and the Kuṭaiṭuṇḍi have *bhūmi āmalaka*s at the base of the *rāhā* on all the four sides. No such *āmalaka* appears on the *rāhā* in the later temples of Orissa.

The number of *baraṇḍa*s in each *bhūmi* in the Diuri temple seems to have been three and a half. In the temples forming the early series in Orissa, this number varies between two and a half and three and a half.

As the upper part of the Diuri temple is almost lost, it is not possible to put it to a thorough chronometric test. But certain generalized conclusions may be drawn. While surveying the temples of eastern India the present writer had the opportunity to notice that the ratio between the *bāḍa*, i.e. the well-section of the temple, and the *śikhara* was usually 1 : 1½. The Diuri temple may not be an exception to this rule. The height of its wall is 9′ – 9″. Therefore, the total height of the monument when it was complete was likely to be around 23′ – 0″. The one stage of *bhūmi* that is now preserved in tact measures 3′ – 0″ vertically. As such the *śikhara* could not be divided into more than five *bhūmi* stages. Evidently, on the last stage of the *bhūmi* was placed a *bisama* whose thickness appears on analogy with similar examples to have been around 9″. It makes the temple to rise from its base to the terminal of the *śikhara* to a height of about 25′ – 6″. But further reconstruction of the temple is somewhat difficult since some uncertainty exists regarding the different members that constitute its *mastaka*. It may, however, be assumed that the *beki*s and *āmalaka* being the two invariable members of the *mastaka* were in their respective places. In eastern India, the *āmalaka* is not usually found to be superimposed by a *khapuri*. A temple at Khakparta in the Ranchi District, however, shows a *khapuri* like member on the *āmalaka* But the comparative rarity of this member makes its presence at Diuri not very likely. Its absence in this monument becomes almost a certainty when one remembers that in no Orissan temple in which *noli* occurs as a base moulding, the *khapuri* appears on the *āmalaka*. If the presence of *khapuri* at Diuri can be discounted then the *āmalaka* should have directly supported the crowning finial. In Orissa the *triratha* temples with the *pābhāga* hnving *noli* among the mouldings are found to carry on the *āmalaka* a cylindrical object. Later on this was replaced by the *kalaśa*. It is, however, not clear whether the Diuri temple was surmounted by a cylindrical finial. But the temple of the Chotanagpur plateau region, when fairly preserved, show without a single exception a *kalaśa* on the top.

The conjectural restoration (Fig. 2) of the Diuri temple made above may enable us in attempting a metrical analysis of its structural elements. When such an analysis is made following the rules laid down in the canonical books dealing

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Plate I
Durgā Temple
(Front: East)

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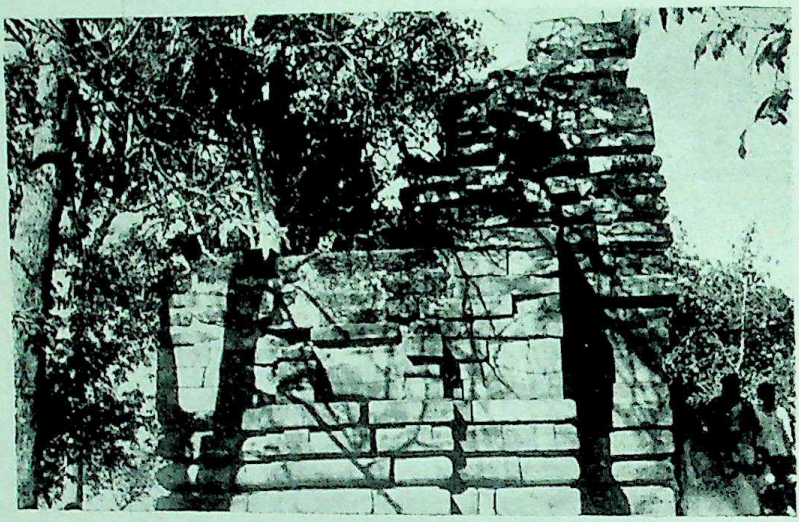

Plate II
Durgā Temple
(South side)

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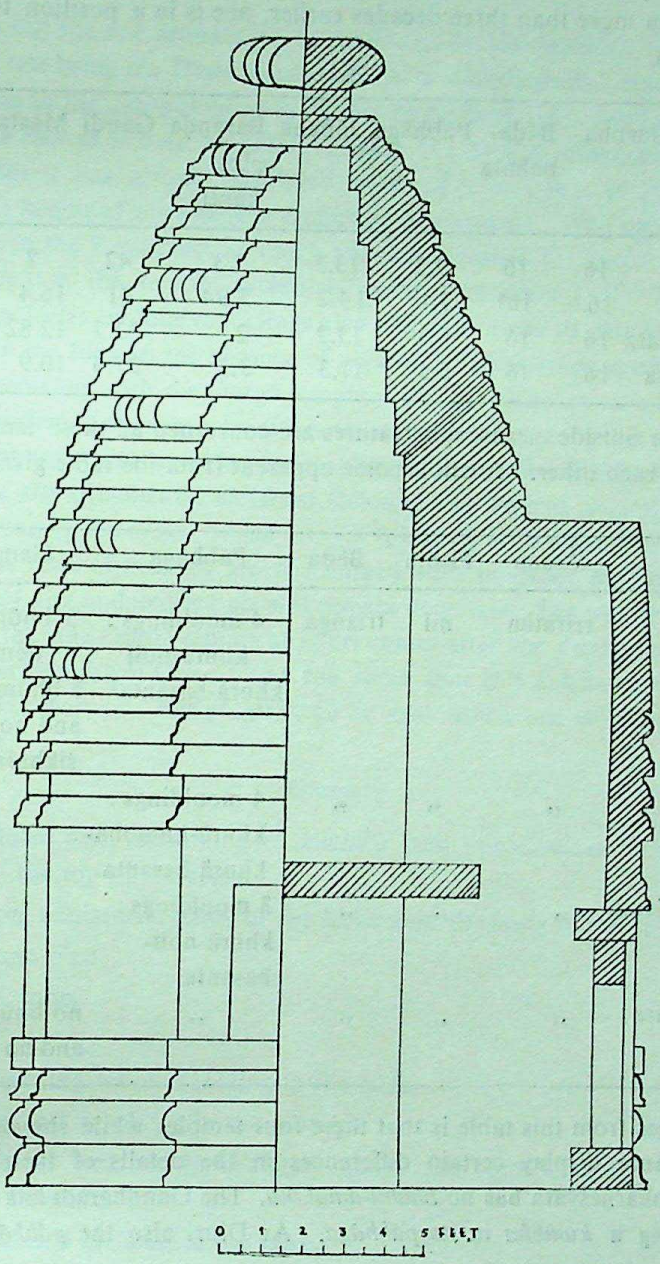

Fig. 2

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with architecture and the results compared with what yielded to Bose's[5] investigation in Orissa more than three decades earlier, one is in a position to make a few deductions.

Temple	Garbha	Bāḍa-bahala	Pābhāga	Jāṅgha	Baraṇḍa plus kāṇṭi	Gaṇḍi	Mastaka	Total
Diuri	16	16	9.3	13.3	3.3	42	?	67.9+X
Gandharadi	16	16[6]	7.1	14.2	3.94	41	16.4	76.64
Paraśurāmeśvara	16	16	6.9	13.2	2	32.7	12.82	63.6
Geokarṇeśvara	16	16	5.5	11.3	3.3	27.6	10.9	58.6

So far as their outside megascopic features are concerned all these temples come very close to each other. It will become apparent from the table given below :

Temple	Āsana	Pishṭa	Bāḍa	Pābhāga	Gaṇḍi
Diuri	triratha	nil	triaṅga	4 mouldings : khurā-noli khurā-basanta[7]	5 bhūmis demarcated by 5 bhūmi-āmalakas and no aṅga-śikhara
Gandharadi	,,	,,	,,	4 mouldings : khurā-kumbha-khurā-basanta	,,
Paraśurāmeśvara	,,	,,	,,	3 mouldings : khurā-noli-basanta	,, ,,
Gokarṇeśwara	,,	,,	,,	,,	no bhūmi-āmalaka and no aṅgaśikhara

What emerges from this table is that these four temples while showing an overall resemblance display certain differences in the details of their expression. Thus the Gokarṇeśvara has no *bhūmi-āmalaka*. The Gandharadi has four mouldings including a *kumbha* in its *pābhāga*. At Diuri also the *pābhāga* has four

5 Bose, N. K., *Cultural Anthropology and other Essays, Calcutta*, 1953, p. 240 ff.

6 According to Bose's calculation, it is 15.5. But the measurement taken by the present author at Gandharadi gives a slightly different reading.

7 Here *paṭā* constitutes the *basanta* moulding. In similar other instances, it is a *khurā* moulding.

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mouldings but the *noli* remains to be replaced by the *kumbha*. The results of the metric test bring the Diuri temple nearer to Gandharadi. But their respective position in the chronological scale cannot be fixed with confidence. Retention of the *noli* as a base moulding betrays the archaic character of the Diuri temple. But it has already exhibited signs of a late date in its tendency to increase the height of the different architectural elements. The same tendency is discernible in the Kuṭaiṭuṇḍi in which the ratio between the length of the *garbha* and the height of the temple excluding *mastaka* becomes 1 : 4. The composition of its *pābhāga* by four mouldings also brings it close to the Durgā temple. However, in the former, the absence of *paṭā* in the *pābhāga* does not allow us to link it immediately with the Durgā temple. But the different ranges of variability of the different elements in different areas at the same point of time have not yet been ascertained. It is possible that in the history of East Indian temple architecture the ornamental elements followed one line of evolution while the rate of increasing the height of the temple followed a completely different line. Unless these rates of changes are determined with reference to time and space the dating of any undated temple will remain uncertain. The utmost that we can say now is that the Durgā temple at Diuri comes after the Paraśurāmeśvara and similar other temples of Orissa. At the same time it is not far removed in date from the Gandharadi. But nothing can be said which one of them is anterior to the other.

Glossary

Āmalaka, fluted disc, resembling an *āmalaka* fruit (*phyllanthus emblica*) above the top of the spire.

Aṅga-śikhara, miniature replica of the *śikhara* on the body of the spire.

Āsana, ground-plan.

Bahala, adj, wide.

Bāḍa, wall.

Baraṇḍa, crowning set of moulding in the *bāḍa*.

Basanta, topmost moulding in the *pābhāga*.

Beki, cylindrical member immediately above the spire and just below the *āmalaka*.

Bhūmi, horizontal division of the spire.

Bhūmi-āmalaka, sectional *āmalaka* at the edge of the spire demarcating one *bhūmi* from another.

Bhūmi-baraṇḍa, moulding in a *bhūmi*.

Bisama, topmost course or courses of the spire above the topmost *bhūmi-āmalaka*.

Gamā, the carbelled arch placed above the lintel on the inner side.

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Gaṇḍi, Spire of the temple.

Garbha-gṛha, sanctum cella.

Jāṅgha, the wall-section between the *pābhāga* and *baraṇḍa*.

Kalaśa, pitcher-shaped finial of the temple.

Kaṇi, knife-edged moulding.

Kāṇṭi, vertical recess between mouldings.

Khapuri, flattened bell-shaped member on the *āmalaka*.

Khurā, cyma-recta.

Kumbha, pitcher-shaped moulding in the *pābhāga*.

Mastaka, crowning elements above the *gaṇḍi*.

Nāgara, type of temple.

Noli, torus.

Pābhāga, set of base-mouldings of *bāḍa*.

Paṭā, moulding with a square edge.

Rāhā, central projection.

Ratha, segment produced on the outer face of a temple which has been subjected to projection.

Śikhara, spire.

Śukanāsa, hunched superstructure on the vestibule.

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REVIEWS

Ṛgvedasarvānukramaṇī of Kātyāyana and Anuvākānukramaṇī of Śaunaka, edited by UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA, M.A., Ph.D., Shastri; published by Viveka Publications, Aligarh; 1977; pp. vi + 107; Price Rs. 20/-.

Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī* of the *Ṛgveda* with extracts from Ṣaḍguru-śiṣya's commentary "*Vedārthadīpikā*" with critical notes and appendices was published by A. A. Macdonell in 1866 (Oxford, Anecdota Oxoniensia). It was out of print for long and "it was the non-availability of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* which prompted" Dr. Sharma "to bring out the present edition" (Introduction, p. v.).

This edition under review contains the "*Sarvānukramaṇī*", the "*Anuvākānukramaṇī*" and the "*Chandaḥ saṃkhyā*". This is followed by an Index of *Pratīka*s (pp. 49-66) (= Appendix II of A. A. Macdonell's edition), Index of *Ṛṣi*s (pp. 67-76), Index of Metres (pp. 77-89) (= Appendix III of A. A. Macdonell's edition), Index of Deities (pp. 90-107). Dr. Sharma has adopted the Devanāgarī script in the Indices, wherein A. A. Macdonell has employed the Roman script. In the present edition "the text is adopted according to the Oxford Edition". (Introduction, p. 5) by A. A. Macdonell, but one misses in this edition the *variae lectiones* noted in the above-mentioned Oxford edition by A. A. Macdonell. The present edition has a very brief introduction (pp. i-v) dealing with the *Anukramaṇī*s. It is unhappy to note that even this brief "Introduction" is marred by misprints, e.g. unterstanding (p. i): understanding; *Ṛṣi* (p. i) for *Ṛṣi*; *Rgveda* (p. iii): *Ṛgveda*; gretefulness (p. v); gratefulness. One misses even a reference to Scheftelowitz's remarks on the Kashmirian recension of the *Sarvānukramaṇī* (Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, I. (1922), 89ff).

It is felt that had Dr. Sharma appended notes, it would have been useful to the students of Vedic studies.

We congratulate Dr. Sharma for publishing this edition and look forward for many more publications from him.

S. G. KANTAWALA

The Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari, Kāṇḍa II English translation with Exegetical notes by K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER; Motilāl Banarasidāss, Delhi, 1977, Price Rs. 40=00.

During the last forty years Sanskrit scholars in India and the West have shown a keen interest in ancient works discussing various aspects of Pāṇinian

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grammar and particularly in the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. Among scholars working on *Vākyapadīya* Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer has been well-known for his editions of the first *Kāṇḍa* and the third *Kāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīya*, for the English translation of *Brahmakāṇḍa* with *Vṛtti* and the third *Kāṇḍa* and for a critical study of *Vākyapadīya*. He has given almost his life-time to the *Vākyapadīya* studies and is in a way responsible for the growing interest of scholars in *Vākyapadīya*. The present work is a translation into English of the second that is the *Vākyakāṇḍa* of *Vākyapadīya*.

The translation is accompanied by notes based on the so far published incomplete commentary (*Vṛtti*) of Bhartṛhari himself and the commentary of Puṇyarāja on the second *Kāṇḍa*. As Shri Iyer says, he has also taken the help of the remaining portion, so far unpublished and in the form of manuscript of the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras and a fragment from Patan. He says he is going to publish a critical edition of the second *Kāṇḍa* along with the *Vṛtti* of Bhartṛhari. He has based his English translation on this critical edition which he has prepared and which is yet to be published. There is synopsis of the topics dealt with in the second *Kāṇḍa*.

The *Vākyakāṇḍa* discusses in a detailed manner theories of sentence meaning, emphasises the importance of sentence as a sementic unit and refutes the theories of the *Mīmāṁsaka*s who emphasize word (*Pada*) as a significant unit of speech. The *Vākyakāṇḍa* is a very famous work and almost all the philosophical systems. Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina and the sciences like Poetics refer to it either for accepting its views or refuting them. Bhojarāja in his *Śṛngāraprakāśa* quotes in the first twelve chapters (*Śṛngāra*s) a number of verses from this *Kāṇḍa* as well as prose passages from the *Vṛtti*. The *Vākyakāṇḍa* has special importance in the contest of the latest researches in linguistics in modern times and particularly with reference to Chomski's theories and the controversies they have generated. Hence an English translation is welcome.

As said above Shri Iyer has followed for his translation a critical edition of the *Vākyakāṇḍa* prepared by him but it has not been published so far. Therefore it is not easy to say how far the translation faithfully renders the original *Kārikās*. The Poona edition (1965) has four hundred and eighty seven *Kārikās* while the edition of Shri K. Raghavan Pillai (Delhi 1971) has two *Kārikās* less than the former. Wilhelm Ran's edition (1977) has four hundred and ninty *Kārikās* while the Sarasvati Bhavan Granthamālā edition of Benares (1968) with the already known auto-commentary fragment, the commentary of Puṇyarāja and the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Pandit Raghunātha Sharma has four hundred and eighty five *Kārika*s. The Benares edition and the edition of Pillai add one line *Vākyam tadapi manyanti yatpadam caritakriyam* before verse no. 326 and Pillai gives the line *antareṇa Kriyāśabdam vākyāde vānidarśanāt* as a variant connected

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with the above line. The Poona edition makes these two lines as a complete verse numbered as 326 with the changed reading. Iyer gives the line as *antareṇa kriyāśabdam Vākyādeva hi darśanāt* and gives translation of the complete verse numbering it as 326 and the next verse as 326 a. Again the *Kārikā* beginning with the words *pratyayārthātmaniyatā-* etc. which is Poona edition verse no. 443 and which is given in the foot-notes of variant readings in Pillai's edition has been translated by Iyer, saying that it is found in the *Svopajña Vṛtti* manuscript. In the absence of Shri Iyer's critical text, all this will bring about some confusion.

Let us see in a summary manner the English rendering of the *Kārikas* in this book. The translation of verses 20, 23 and 24 is not clear and does not make much sense when read with the original or with the notes given by Shri Iyer. He confesses—and there are many such places—that the idea in verse no. 24 is not clear to him. The translation of verse no. 54, which is rather easy, is only a summary of the view that as letters by themselves have no meaning but would give some meaning when constituting a word, the sentence also gives a connected sense of words. The translation of verse fifty five " Individual words, meaningless being only a means to an end or having their own meaning only when uttered in a sequence " does not clarify the meaning of the verse. In verse sixty four the word *atyantam* is left out in translation. The translation of the second line of verse sixty five does not give an exact rendering of the words in the original. Instead of " If mere substance is set aside by the mention of the particular substance, there would be no substitute if rice is not available ", there ought to have been " if a substance (*dravyam*) were to be set aside (*nivarteta*) by the word rice (*vrihiśrutyā*), then no substitution (*pratinidhiḥ*) would be possible (*tadā na syāt*). As the reading in 81b is *aṅgānāmaprayojakam*, the translation should have been " does not bring into existence the subsidiaries of the ritual in question " instead of " brings into existence etc. ". The translation of verse no. 88 is rather a summary of the points made and misses the word *Śaktibhedādapodhṛte* in translation. The rendering ' is note explicable ' for *na Nirudhyate*, is not happy. Verse 92b, translated as " what appears to be similar is really non-existent ", misses the original construction (*iti muḍhaḥ*) *manyate*. In the translation of verse 93 the word *prakāśasya* may be rendered as understanding. The construction of the rendering of verse 124 is not happy. The translation of verse no. 189 misses the word *taddharmā*. Verse no. 223b is no translation but only a gist and leaves out the word *vyāvṛttarūparthe* is left out. In verse no. 227 the phrase ' a negative compound ' is wrongly put in the brackets. The translation of verse no. 258b makes no sense as compared with the original and the word *antaram* is left out. The notes on this verse do not make the point clear.

The above instances—and a few more can be given —point out how difficult is the translation of the *Kārikas* of *Vākyapadīya*. Inspite of the labours of Cāru-

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devaśāstri, Iyer, Abhyankar and Limaye and others, the text of *Vākyapadīya Kārikas* has not so far been fixed. Wilhelm Rau has criticised all the previous editions as uncritical and seems to suggest that the edition prepared by him is the last word. Although Rau has laboured extensively and has consulted more than a hundred manuscripts for *Vākyapadīya* and has classified them and fixed their geneology etc. in the fashion of German scholarship, most of his manuscripts belong to the fourteenth or the fifteenth century A.D. Again the critical text of Bhartṛhari's *Vṛtti* on the first two *Kāṇḍas* has not yet been fixed. Secondly countless references of Bhartṛhari's *Kārikās* and prose-fragments of the *Vṛtti* are quoted in early writers like Dignāga, Mallavādi, Dharmakīrti and so on. I may refer to the early portions of the *Śṛngāraprakāśa* of Bhoja in this respect. For fixing the *Kārikā* text these also should be taken into account. Thirdly the cross references between the *Vākyapadīya Kārikās* and the statements in *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* should also be considered. Such a state of things regarding the *Kārikā*-text makes all efforts at translating them very difficult. The excellent commentary Ambākartrī of Pandit Raghunātha Sharmā is useful in understanding a number of points. It was expected of Shri Iyer, a veteran in *Vākyapadīya* studies that the translation, though not perfect should not at many places be just a gist or a summary of the points advanced.

However the book is useful in the sense that it does help the understanding of the *Kārikās* at many places and stimulates further efforts.

J. M. SHUKLA

Saundaryalaharī by V. K. SUBRAMANIAN, published by M/s. Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1977, pp. x + 112. Price Rs. 30/- (Cloth Bound); Rs. 20/- (Paper Bound).

Nowadays, Tāntric texts have drawn the attention of the intellectuals and it is gratifying that many books, translations, as well as studies are coming out in this field. The present book is one of them.

The author has taken much pain in preparing the book ' *Saundaryalaharī*' with Devanāgarī script, Roman translation, English translation, Explanatory notes, Yantric diagrams and Index (of verses). The author, therefore, deserves our compliments.

However I would like to make a few suggestions, in the light of the matter of the book.

As for the Sanskrit text, I believe, Prof. Norman Brown's critical edition of *Saundaryalaharī*, is the most ideal one. He has discussed various readings and also the propriety of the readings accepted by him.

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The author could have accepted better readings. It seems that the author does not try to make a scholarly work but a popular one.

Some of the words and expressions are not properly understood by the author himself. e.g.

(1) *Śauriḥ* (verse 2), though suggests the sense of the word 'Protector', here, it conveys the meaning of *Viṣṇu* in the form of *Śeṣanāga*.

(2) *Bhavāni* (verse 22) does mean 'Oh Creatrix!' but its real implication is missed. It is Imperative, First Person singular form of √*bhū* (*bhavati*) 1 P to be. Thus *bhavāni tvam* will mean "*let me be you*". The same verse is also translated in a clumsy manner.

(3) *Kināśo* (verse 26) refers to God of death and *not* 'the angel of death'.

(4) *Śeṣaḥ Śeṣityu*....(verse 34) does not mean "Eternal one is by common usage applicable to you both, Equally.." but means—

"Hence, as you reciprocally realize each other as complement and essence, this union exists of you two experiencing supreme bliss with equal savour". (Norman Brown's edition of the same, p. 60, verse 34 cd.)

(5) *Haramihira*—(verse 40), the metaphor is wrongly translated as "destroyer in the great dissolution".

(6) *Sphuṭarucir* and *bhogavatikā* (verse 49) have no translation, at all.

Notes which are expected in a popular edition like this, are not explained. Such as—(1) in *Puraripum api* (verse 5) and *Puramathitu-*,—*Mohinī avatāra* of Viṣṇu and *Tripuradahana* respectively.

(2) In *Śaraṇakoṇāḥ pariṇatāḥ* (verse 11) no clarification for 44 triangles. (Actually the no. of triangles, is 43. The author has preferred a *wrong* reading.

Apart from this, most of the verses require changes in translation and explanation of certain technical terms.

Preface and the last para on p. 55 are well-written.

I congratulate the publishers for the fine get-up of the book on glossy paper with attractive cover page.

J. A. JANI

Śaśadhara Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa with *Ṭippaṇa by Guṇaratnasūri*—Ed. by B.K. MATILAL; Published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 9; November, 1976; Price Rs. 45

This is the first complete edition of the *Nyāya-Siddhāntadīpa* (NSD) of Śaśadhara with a hitherto unpublished commentary by Guṇaratnasūri. A consi-

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derable portion of Śaśadhra's NSD was printed and serialized in different issues of the *Paṇḍit* (Vol. XXV—XLII, 1876—1920). Later on in 1924, Pt. Dhundhiraj Shastri in collaboration with Mm. Vindhyeshwari Prasad Dwivedi Published an edition of NSD along with the comm. *NSD—Prabhā* of Śeṣānantācārya on the basis of two incomplete MSS of NSD and three MSS of NSD—*Prabhā* (—these manuscripts were full of mistakes and lacunae, the said editors admitted). Thus the present edition deserves to be welcomed as it presents the complete text of NSD critically edited on the basis of two manuscripts from Muni Punyavijayaji's collection, and a photocopy of a manuscript from the India Office Library. The 1924 edition has been used as another source-book for comparing variants. Further the readings of the ' Limdi Ms ' of NSD of the Seth Anandji Kalyanji Jaina Pustaka Bhandar, and of the ' Nagarseth manuscript ' of the Nagaraseth collection at the L. D. Institute of Indology have been collated. The text of the NSD *ṭippaṇa* is based on a Single manuscript from Muni Punyavijayaji's collection.

The NSD consists of chapters or *Vāda*s (discussions) numbering 27 or 26 (if the chapters on *Vyāpti* and *Vyāpti-graha* are regarded as one) : Topics of the *Nyāya* (—*Vaiśeṣika*) system of philosophy around which a controversy arose are found briefly discussed in these several chapters, the prima-facie view being put forth and then refuted. For instance, it has always remained a point of dispute among thinkers whether a *maṅgala* serves any purpose, whether *andhakāra* (darkness) is of a positive character or is just absence of light, whether *Vāyu* (wind) can be regarded as perceptible, or can only be inferred from the perception of its quality of ' touch ', and so on. Dr. B. K. Matilal has reason to believe that the NSD was contemplated and written as a single book and is not the result of a compilation of different *Vāda*s separately written at different periods, as there are references to later chapters as also back references.

The editor has in his Introduction discussed in a scholarly menner the date of Śaśadhara, putting forth the arguments on both sides—whether Śaśadhara could be Post—Gaṅgeśa or Pre—Gaṅgeśa. He has referred to a discussion he had with Pt. Sukhlalji Sanghavi. He has specifically drawn our attention to the fact that the NSD—*Prabhā* of Śeṣānanta notes at a couple of places that Śaśadhara is trying to answer the objection raised by Gaṅgeśa. And yet on the basis of other evidences, the editor, in agreement with S. C. Vidyabhusana and D. C. Bhattacharya, regards Śaśadhara or Śaśidhara as a pre-Gaṅgeśa Navya-nyāya writer.

Dr. B K. Matilal very generously defends Pt. Dhundhiraj against the harsh and rather cruel remarks of D.C. Bhattacharya, though admitting that Pt. Dhundhiraj's information was perhaps based on tradition current in Western India and so he could not mention the source. Dr. Matilal throws much light on Śaśadhara

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or Śaśidhara and his date on the basis of the information that can be derived from the Bheraghat Inscription and the discussion about in by Fitz Edward Hall and Kielhorn. He has come to the conclusion that Śaśadhara (or Śaśidhar) belonged to Western India (—and not to Mithila as D. C. Bhattacharya took for granted), he was the author of two inscriptions (—the Bheraghat inscription and another inscription in the Museum of Jabalpur—) and he preceded Gaṅgeśa by about 150 years. He has also shown that Śaśadhara was a popular Navya-nyāya author in Western India in the 16th and the 17th century. This means that his work was widely read and taught in Western India in the 16th and 17 centuries.

One does not feel inclined to accept Dr. B. K. Matilal's argument that Vādi Vāgiśvara (of the 12th cent.) must have been a close contemporary of Śaśadhara because the latter refers to him in the singular number (*Vādi-Vāgīśvaras tu....*), we find this very oftten even in respect of earlier anthors in the works of Jñānaśrī and Ratnakīrti and others and we further know that Vādi-Vāgīśvara received rather rough treatment at the hands of many of his critics—perhaps due to his somewhat revolutionary views, and peculiar way of life (—See Introduction to *Mānamanohara*, Vārāṇaṣī, 1973). Prof. B. K. Matilal has reasons to believe that the NSD *Ṭippaṇa* was a commentary on four chapters of NSD, written by Guṇaratna who can be indentified with the author of the *Ṣaḍdarśana Samuccayaṭīkā* and of the *Kriyāratnasamuccaya*, and was perhaps his last work which remained incomplete.

The NSD, as said above, Comprises 27 *Vāda*s—*Maṅgalavāda, Andhakāra°, Kāraṇatā°, Padaśakti°, Śakti°, Ādheyaśakti°, Mano'ṇutva°, Śabdaprāmāṇya,° Jñānakarmasamuccaya°, Mukti°, Siddhārtha—Prāmāṇya°, Anvayaśaktinirāsa°, Vāyupratyakṣatā°, Nirvikalpa°, Suvarṇataijaasa°, Yogarūḍhi°, Liṅga-Parāmarśa, Vyāpti°, Vyāptigraha°, Vidhi°, Apūrva°, Anyathākhyāti°, Arthāpatti°, Śabdānityatā,° Īśvara°, Abhāva°, Anupalabdhivāda.*

The text has been very carefully edited and the readings properly collated and variants noted ; The improvement on, or disagreement with, the 1924 edition has been properly brought out. The NSD—*Ṭippaṇa* of Guṇaratnasūri is on four *Vāda*s—*Vidhivāda, Apūrva°, Anyathākhyāti°, Arthāpatti°*. Could it be that Guṇaratna commented on these *Vada*s directly related to the *Mīmāṁsā* system of philosophy as he was teaching these topics to his pupils ? Of course this is a mere conjecture.

It would have been really very useful if a detailed note had been included in the Introductin on the history of works like the NSD which appear structurally to be a collection of a number of *Vāda*s and on how and in which school this form originated and developed. Dr. Matilal has casually touched this point while referring to the discussion he had with Pt. Sukhlalji—of course in the light of the *Vāda*s of Gadādhara (17th cent. A. D.). But even earlier works of a

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similar type could surely be pointed out. One also feels tempted to expect of a scholar of Prof. Matilal's calibre that he should have traced all the references in the text by '*kaścit*' or '*kecit*' or a like word to the original sources wherever possible, or the different *vikalpas* put forth while raising a particular problem. This would perhaps have helped to determine the chronological position of Śaśadhara with greater certainty, and to say the least would have certainly contributed to a better understanding of the text.

Indices of proper names and philosophical terms at the end of the book would have proved useful to the serious reader. The editor has repeatedly said in the Introduction that he has accepted the number of chapters to be 27 (and not 26), and yet we find just 26 *Vādas*. The 26th chapter should have ended with '*iti Abhāvanirūpaṇa*' (p. 125) and the *Anupalabdhivāda* (27th chapter) should have started with '*So'ayam abhāvó nupalabdhipramāṇāntaragamya iti Tautātitāḥ*'. It is a pity that there are a large number of printing errors both in the Introduction and in the body of the Sanskrit text. The slightest error in the Sanskrit text would leave the reader fumbling, especially when the text is not a well-known one, or is published for the first time. The reader loses faith and when he comes across a difficult passage he is not sure that he has the correct text with him.

We should be thankful to Prof. B. K. Matilal and to the L. D. Institute of Indology for making available to students of Sanskrit a critical edition of NSD which is a valuable pre-Gaṅgeśa *Navya-nyāya* text. We may expect many more such valuable publications from both and feel confident that they are not going to disappoint us as both the Professor and the Institution are devoted to this pursuit.

E. A. SOLOMON

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjarī [*Dvitīya Āhnika*] with Gujarati Translation —Edited and translated by DR. NAGIN J. SHAH, Published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, pp. 10 + 190, Price Rs. 20/-.

This second *Āhnika* of *Nyāyamañjarī* presents an important lively discussion of *Pratyakṣa*, *Auumāna* and *Upamāna Pramāṇas* respectively. Though Jayanta has examined and criticized some of the views of *Sāṃkhya* and *Mīmāṁsā Darśanas*, his main target is the renowned Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti. Jayanta has also brought out the internal differences among the *Naiyāyikas* themselves. Dr. Shah points out that there were two groups of *Naiyāyikas*—the *Vyākhyātās* [followers of Vātsyāyana] and *Acāryās* [followers of Uddyotakāra]. It is interesting to note that in view of the *Vyākhyātās* only *Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa* is genuine. *Savikalpa Pratyakṣa* is not *Pratyakṣa* but *Śābda*. Scholars of *Nyāya*

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philosophy know well about the important controversy over the interpretations of the term *Avypaadeśya* in the definition of *Pratyakṣa*, as given by Gautama. Jayanta has given an open field to the *Naiyāyikas* to present their various interpretations in this matter. He himself remains impartial and works as a moderator [Page 56, Para 84].

Similarly while discussing the nature of *Anumāna*, Jayanta has elaborated the views of *Buddhas* and *Mīmāṁsakas* at length and their refutation by *Naiyāyikas*. His interpretation of *Matup pratyaya* in *Pūrvavat* and *Śeṣavat* is equally interesting.

Jayanta holds an eminent position among *Naiyāyikas* because of his striking originality. Though faithful to Gautama he occasionally differs from other commentators and *Naiyāyikas*. Thus he says that the illustration of the movement of Sun is not a proper one for *Sāmānyato dṛṣta anumāna* as thought by Vātsyāyana. [P. 149] He also does not hesitate to put the statement 'The words of Praśastapāda are not the words of God', in the mouth of a section of *Naiyāyikas* [P. 162].

Though a logician, Jayanta's style is poetic. His charming diction has made, even the dry polemic discussions very lively and palatable. He quotes Māgha [P. 48] and gives a vivid poetic discussion of seasons [P. 168, 69] His lively debate on the *Vyabhicāritva* of '*Sukha*' is yet another example of his mastery over language.

Dr. Nagin Shah has very successfully incarnated this style of Jayanta in this Gujarati translation. Like his translation of the First *Āhnika*, he has unfolded the hidden meaning of the concise Sanskrit sentences, in the brackets. However following sentences have remained untranslated—

न दर्शनं करणमेवेति	P. 14
कोऽयमभिमानो नाम	P. 16
तद्वृत्तीनि सामान्यानि	P. 19
तद् ब्रूहि	P. 21
यथा चेन्द्रियाणां ..... दर्शितम् ।	P. 22
तत्रैतत् स्यात्	P. 25
लोको हि यथारुचि व्यपदिशन्ति	P. 35
उच्यते	P. 36
क्वचिच्चिन्ता	P. 60
अतः पदद्वयमपि तद्व्युदासाय न कर्तव्यम्	P. 63

On page 90, it seems that Dr. Shah thinks that Saṁpāti—the vulture of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* is the same as Jaṭāyu, though in fact Saṁpāti was the elder brother of Jaṭāyu.

However, this, in no way lessens the value of the translation. Dr. Shah has in fact, done a valuable service to the people of Gujarat, by this translation

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as it will satisfy the aspiration of those who are eager to study the Original Sanskrit texts, but are helpless to do so because of their ignorance of Sanskrit language. Let us welcome this book and congratulate Dr. Shah, therefore, for this *Bandhukṛtya*.

VASANT PARIKH

The Smith Āgama Collection : Sanskrit Books and Manuscripts Relating to Pañcarātra Studies : A Descriptive Catalogue by H. DANIEL SMITH, published by Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, U.S.A., pp. xxx + 204, Price not mentioned.

The work under review is divided into three sections. The first section lists the primary texts of the *Pañcarātrāgama*, the second lists secondary works of the *Pañcarātra* School and other relevant texts in Indian languages and the third gives the partial list of supplementary material, mostly in English, pertinent to "*Āgama* Studies".

The first and the second sections list the entries in alphabetical order, according to Sanskrit sequence. The first section has 118 entries in all—41 printed books, 48 copies of *Devanāgarī* fragmentary mss., 26 *Devanāgarī* transcriptions of original mss. written in scripts other than *Devanāgarī*, 2 palm-leaf mss. and 1 photoprint. The second section has 16 entries in all—12 printed books, 1 copy of *Devanāgarī* fragmentary ms. and 3 palm-leaf mss.

Each entry follows a proforma bibliographical scheme. For books it is this: title, editorial data, place of publication, publisher's name, date of publication, script, dimensions, pages, charts, plates, contents and condition. Description is an important part of the scheme. It attempts to identify the title's place in the canon, its authority, pertinent historical, doctrinal and text-critical considerations and the like. It lists chapter-titles with *Śloka*-counts. It also indicates sections or sub-headings within the text. The entry is closed by mentioning the names of interlocutors featured in the narrative of the text. This description part is very well done as the readers get good idea of the substance of the entire text.

The proforma bibliographical scheme for copies or transcriptions of mss./mss. fragments is this : title, number of pages or folios, script, medium, dimension, number of *ślokas* per average page. 'Source' identifies the original ms. utilised for copying or transcribing. 'Also available' category mentions the ms. other than the one utilised. Description attempts to present a capsule comment on ascribed canonicity, the doctrinal contents and the historical context of the copied text. Of course nowhere it is made clear as to whether the text in question is published or not.

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Though the *Āgama* works deal mainly with rituals, they also contain sections on iconography (*pratimālakṣaṇa*), temple architecture (*prāsādalakṣaṇa*), etc. The *Jñānāmṛasāra* has 117 verses on the origin of prostitutes. Thus for the history of Hindu culture and religion an intensive study of these texts is highly desired.

At the end are given three informative appendices. Appendix A lists host mss. utilised for copying purposes. Appendix B gives an index to interlocutors found in available *Saṃhitā* texts. And Appendix C contains a list of works by H. Daniel Smith relating to *Pañcarātra* studies.

Professor H. Daniel Smith, author of '*A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pañcarātrāgama*' (GOS Vol. 158), has prepared this valuable work prefaced with an introduction pertaining mainly to the Smith Āgama Collection—its purpose, extent and future. Scholars interested in the *Pañcarātra Āgama* Texts will find here extensive description of the important *Āgama* texts. Professor H. Daniel Smith deserves our congratulations for preparing such a systematic and scientific descriptive catalogue.

NAGIN SHAH

Māyā Divine and Human by TEUN GOUDRIAAN, Pub. Motilal Banarsidass, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi 6, pp. xiv + 516, Price : Rs. 100/-.

The six chaptered 'Māyā Divine and Human' presents a critical and comparative and also a historical study of the Doctrine of *Māyā* from the philosophical, religious, Tantric and human view point, mainly on the basis of Balinese hymns and fragments (*Stuti* and *Stava*), and thus the work is first of its kind in the field. The author finds the origin of the doctrine first in the *Vedas*, though there the word is neither related to latter developed philosophical concept of *Māyā* nor to the *Tantric* or religious *Māyā*. In *Ṛgveda*, Indra's *Māyā* denotes his deceitful character. Further, the author has gone into details to discuss the *Māyā* of Viṣṇu and *Mahāmāyā* with its various aspects. Mohinī, the woman-incarnation of Viṣṇu, also is a form of *Māyā*. Similarly the Śakti of Śiva and other deities also is *Māyā* according to Teun Goudriaan, the author. Another aspect of *Māyā* is magical. The author has also explained the *Āsurī-Māyā* connected to the *Asuras*.

While explaining the worship, the author has described it as *Sādhanā* and *Bhukti* (enjoyment) and *Mukti* (liberation) as the main aims of it. The author has nicely described the process of worship of the Goddess Bagalāmukhī, Śri Kālarātrī (a form of Durgā) and many such other female deities. Among the male deities, the description regarding the worship of *Yakṣa*, Yamāntaka, Kāma,

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Śiva and Gaṇeśa is interesting and noteworthy. The author has authentically explained the way of meditation regarding the *Māyā* of Viṣṇu. The Buddhistic *Mahāmāyā* has also been referred to by the author but mainly the *Mahāmāyā* of Viṣṇu has been discussed with on the basis of very rare Sanskrit hymns and fragments handed down by the *Brāhmaṇa* Śaivite and Buddhist priests of Bali, Indonesia. It also describes the *Pūjā Kṣatriya*, the daily worship of the orthodox Viṣṇuite, Balanese noble man. It can be further noted that the worship of *Mahāmāyā* is performed for the warding off of all diseases and calamities. Describing about the Magical *Sādhanā*, on the basis of the Balanese fragments, the scholar Teun Goudriaan interestingly says that the powerful Delusive manifestation of Viṣṇu is approached in the mind by an individual performer who seems to apply this meditation to the realisation of various acts of magic. But, the manifestation, though called *Māyā*, is not a female entity.

The chapter four of the book which explains mainly the concept of magical colours and colour symbolism is quite interesting and informative. Through the source of Balanese *Mahāmāyā* fragment, the author describes a meditation of Viṣṇu of changing colours to the aim of inflicting the results of various kinds of magical feats upon a victim. The author says that " These feats always involve that the victim is psychologically affected, deluded or otherwise loses the normal use of his faculties of mind." Originally, the concept of colour is based on *Satva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* of which the symbol colour is white, red and black respectively and which has the Vedic background. The author has rightly added that all colourfulness is *Māyā*, because the soul is colourless. In this chapter, the author has made a survey of the places from ancient Indian literature that give evidence of the power thought to be executed by the colours; and in particular of the faculties of delusion, sometimes even of terror, considered to be inherent in their purposeful combination in ritual context. The chapter five is devoted to *Indrajāla*, the net of Indra. As the author mentions the origin of the concept of *Indrajāla* is that idea of the *Ṛgveda* according to which the God Indra had been conceived of as a great magician at least a great possessor and wielder of *Māyā*. It is also on account of the *Māyā Śakti* of Indra that He deceives people by taking many forms (*Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa iyate*). This is Indra's deceitful character. The later development of *Indrajāla* which is a form of jugglery is based on the above idea. In the sixth chapter, the learned scholar has taken into account the six acts, the significant aspect of the *Tantric* achievement. The six acts are— *Ākarṣaṇa* ' attraction ', *Vaśīkaraṇa* ' subjugation ', *Stambhana* ' Immobilization '. *Uccāṭana* ' Iradication ' and *Prāyaścitta* ' Pacification '. The author has explained them in details. From the above, it is evident that the author has a deeper study of Tantric discipline and some important concepts of Indian philosophy and religion and that is why he has been able to undertake a valuable study of the

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Doctrine of *Māyā* from various viewpoints. The present study reveals a clean exposition of Tantric tenets and indicates profound scholarship of the author.

RAM MURTI SHARMA

History of Sultanate Architecture, by R. NATH, Pub. Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, pp. XXVI + 121, Pl. 156, Line Drawings 57, Price Rs. 210, $ 42.

The work under review deals with the History of Sultanate Architecture. It studies the " Evolution of Sultanate Architecture of Delhi, its Techniques, Norms, and concepts. Chronologically it deals with the subject matter from the establishment of Delhi Sultanate upto the death of Sher Shah Sur, precisely from 1192 A.D./A.H. 588 to 1545 A.D./A.H. 952 " (P. ix).

For the aim of this work the author begins with a criticism of the earlier works by stating that " They came from a foreign land and were not acquainted with the thoughts and beliefs of the people who built these relics.——Nor were they historians in full grasp of the main currents of the age. They dealt at large with descriptions of architectural features and their work is largely narrative " (p. xi). To remedy these flows the author aims at " Many facetted investigation " in the " History of Architecture " which is not only a description of pillars and roofs but also of thoughts and beliefs which bring them into form. These thoughts and beliefs are most important in the history of mediaeval India because they were not only dominant but were also mostly determinant." (p. xi).

To fulfil the aims the author has divided the work in an introduction and eleven chapters. In the introduction the author insists that the chronicles of Mediaeval India were written with a view " To raise the dignity and prestige of the king in the estimation of his co-religionists " (p. 1). As if to change this view-point to the nationalist view-point the author seems to lament the fact that in 12th century, the ideas developed in the 18th/19 centuries did not exist in India. He remarks " There was no national consciousness, no feeling of responsibility for the defence of out lying provinces " (p. 2). He forgets that in India these were independant states ruled by their rulers in the period under consideration. These were sovereign states and not out lying provinces. Such situation prevailed in Europe also upto the 18th century so the concept of out lying provinces could not be justified in the period under discussion. This modern lament becomes an emotional statement of " India prostrate and bleeding " (p. 2). The data presented by the author himself could have given another direction of thinking and more detached appreciation of the situation. It could be noted here that in the period of 10th to 12th centuries A.D., some of the finest temples are built in the country.

Similarly the statements " It was a misfortune for Islam that unlike other religions it largely spread by military might with war and hatred " (p. 3)., and

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"Islamic art has no philosophy, no symbolism" (p. 5) seems to be an exaggeration. The author himself talks against the latter in parts of his book.

In the first chapter "Conflicts and Compromises" the author forgets the basic fact that the military conquerors did not move with their armies of craftsmen. They generally used the local materials and technical personal who would work for the new masters.

The author notes that the plinth of the principal Hindu Shrine was selected by Aibak for the site of the proposed Jami Masjid (p. 10). This point requires additional proofs because the Indians built the *Jagati* and *Pīṭha* for their temples. The statement of the plinth therefore is a highly incomplete observation. He notes that the inner colonnades were also not disturbed. For these statements necessary proofs based on the plans of the *Maṇḍapa*, *Garbhagṛha* etc. are necessary. If the colonnades represent a *bhamati*, then these features should have been clarified. For want of this data, it is better to accept the situation that old materials and techniques were used to construct the structure needed for the new rulers. The author however rightly comments on the technique used for building the arches of the screen, but his statement that "The arched screen facing the sancturary was a necessary feature of the mosque complex" would not stand scrutiny as many mosques without such a screen are existing in India. It may be noted that true arch was known in India before 12th century A.D. The excavation at Antichak conclusively demonstrates this fact.

Similarly there seems to be some confusion about the dome when the author notes "There is no dome and howsoever intense could have been the urge to build it as a symbol of faith like the arch, it could not be brought into form" (p. 11). Dome has acquired a meaning of an up raised spherical roof or *Utkṣipta Vitāna* of Indian *Vāstu*. The domes were built in India in the *Maṇḍapas*. Their technique was used in early structures for Islam. Only the argument is not for the dome but is used for its method of construction. To classify the dome as Hindu or Muslim becomes meaningless. Only one can talk of a dome on trabeate system or arcuate system. Same is the case with ceilings.

The concept of Outub Minar is a well documented chapter. Here there seem to be some confusion about the identification of Delhi quartzites as quartose. However on p. 31 to trace *Kīrti-Staṁbha* from the root *Kṛ* to excavate is too much of a guess work. *Kīrti Staṁbha* has to be derived from the Sanskrit word *Kīrti* which means fame. It is the element of fame that is prominent in such constructions and it does not go to the root *Kṛ*. However Qutub Minar's identification as *kīrtī Staṁbha* is sound. It may be noted that it could be used as a *Mazinah* without much difficulty.

The chapter on Architectural Aspirations of the Khaljis tries to bring some information about standing monuments and ignores fine ruins of Siri and semi

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buried monuments of this area. The description of Allai Darwza is good but while noting its characters, the author does not take into consideration its arches. Moreover, it is a gate way that could serve as a model of gates and such functions but to consider it as a proto-type of grave (p. 48) is rather odd change of function.

The Tughlaqian Age of Innovations begins with an inaccurate observation of natural lakes (p. 52). Either field work or reading of Percy Browś Indian Architecture Vol-II, p. 21 of 3rd Edition would have convinced the author that these are not natural lakes. On P. 55 the author notes that " Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325/725-1351/752) founded a new city near Siri and in accordance with his ideas named it Jahanpanah ". On P. 56 he notes that " Badi Manzil (Big=Mansion) now called *Vijaya Maṇḍala* (Pl. XLIIV) is the solitary building of Jehanpanah which is ascribed to Muhammad bin Tughlaq ". These statements would raise a question about the situation of Jehanpanah. Probably clearer explanation would have removed this confusion.

The author tries to introduce the terms from Indian *Vāstu* in the Sectrarian Relics of the Firuzian Era. He uses the terms *Ekāṅgaṇa, Caturāṅgaṇa* etc. Here the author uses the term *Aṅgaṇa* in the sense of inner court-yard or sahn following the North Indian usage. However, in the *Vāstuśāstra* the term *Aṅgaṇa* clearly indicates the place out side the house. The building of the Mosque could be classified as a *catuḥśāla* structure. But not as *caturāṅgaṇa* because each house would have only one *Aṅgaṇa*. The *Aṅgṇa* requires replacement by the term *cauka* or *catuṣka*. Similarly the square tombs are noted as *Vargakara*. The term *varga* for square is used in Mathematics and not in *Vāstu*. In the *Vāstu* the term is *caturasra*. It signifies a square area, structure etc. If Indian terms are to be used they should be appropriate to the subject. The use of one word from one branch of knowledge when applied to another branch where specific technical term be available leads only to confusion. Similarly the term for octagonal plan is *Aṣṭāsra* and not *Aṣṭa-bhuja* as noted by the author.

The book is profusely illustrated with plans, conjuctural restorations and photographs. An analysis of this aspect reveals that instead of plans there are mere sketches without scale. A sketch of a typical Buddhist *Vihāra* (Fig. 13) is only hypothetical. Figs. 19 and 20 of the same structure show differences in height but as they have no scale comments become redundant. Fig. 27 is a mixture of perspective and elevation, though only noted as elevation. In Fig. 28 the Mehrab is shown in the North. This method of Namaz will require interpretation on different norm that is not known in India. In Fig. 30 the entrance on the South is absent though it is noted in writing on p. 61. Figs 35 and 36 show sketches of square plans though in writing one is noted as rectangular and other as square on p. 70. The plans and restorations as illustrated should have been

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duly acknowledged for clear reference and academic justification. This is unfortunately not done. The photographic record is good but here also acknowledgements would have proved more useful. On the whole this book indicates that much further work is needed to clear the techniques norms and concepts of the Sultanate architecture. It is hoped that the author would take it up for the second edition of this work to make it a really useful study.

R. N. MEHTA

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